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SEPTEMBER 24, 1963

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

CIVIL RIGHTS

LEGAL WRONGS

By James Jackson Kilpatrick

U.S. Students in Cuba: How Far Left?

WILLIAM SCHULZ

Also In This Issue:

JAMES BURNHAM ON THE STRATEGY OF YALTA ◆ A BOW TO THE WORDLESS NOVEL BY HUGH KENNER ◆ GEORGE M. PEPPER ON FRANCE TODAY ◆ & JOAN DIDION IS BACK

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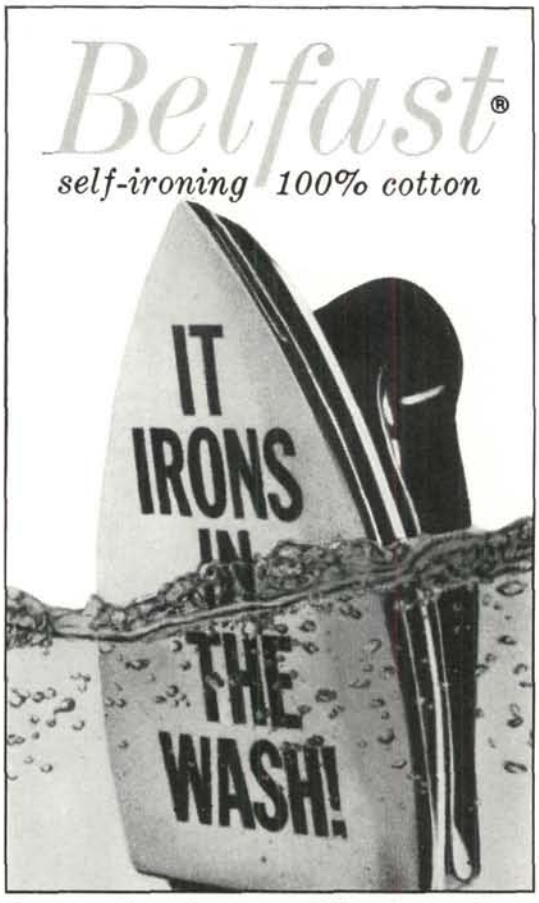

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). © National Review, Inc. 1963. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.
The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ **James Jackson Kilpatrick** patiently explains, 1-2-3, why the President's Civil Rights Bill is wrong. It is not only a bad act, he shows. It is a monstrous act; and the very fact that it should be seriously considered is evidence of the grip we are losing, as a people, on the constituent principles of human freedom. Mr. Kilpatrick, a frequent contributor, is of course the distinguished editor of the *Richmond News-Leader,* and author of *Our Sovereign States,* one of the books that does *not* sit on Mr. Kennedy's desk. . . . **William Schulz,** the able assistant to Fulton Lewis Jr., kept his eyes on the American students who traveled to Cuba recently to satisfy their irrepressible desire to make fools of themselves; and reports on their success. . . . **George M. Pepper,** as he calls himself, has left the Sorbonne and, after a quick trip home to California, returned to Paris to work we dare not say where. He is, as you will see, as depressed as ever by the Gaullocentric state that has emerged since the elections, almost a year ago, finally confirmed the President's power.

➔ **James Burnham** shows how the Moscow Treaty is the embodiment of the strategy of Yalta, and how reasonable it is that our foreign policy should under the circumstances be failing all over the world. Mr. Burnham will not travel to the meeting of the Centro Vitale in Rome after all, as he had promised his publisher his next book the first week in October, and cannot meet his deadline *and* go to Rome. (Nyah, Nyah, teacher's pet!). . . . **Russell Kirk,** on the other hand, who wrote just before the New York teachers successfully blackmailed the city, is off to Europe for three months, but will write regularly from abroad. . . . Professor **Hugh Kenner,** who will begin a semester as visiting professor of English at the University of Virginia, has written a most captivating review of Milt Gross—read it, and if you have seen a finer stretch of writing in the past ten years, grab it, call Brink's, and send it to us Collect. . . . And the gentleman who composed the advertisement for Liberalland is the same man—once again he prefers anonymity—who a few years ago so successfully spoofed SANE with his advertisement for the Committee for Instant Surrender.

➔ **J. H. Morse** was formerly a captain in the Navy and an aide to Admiral Lewis Strauss. Now he is attached to the Hoover Institute at Stanford. He reviews the book by Earl Voss on the nuclear situation—a volume of dazzling relevance to the great debate over the Moscow Treaty. The book, says Mr. Morse, is a definitive statement of the dangers we are walking into. . . . **Myrna Bain,** of the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW, reviews a new book on the Negro question. She has written, for a future issue of *Esquire,* a piece entitled "The Social Gospel of James Baldwin." . . . **Nathaniel Weyl,** busy completing no less than three new books, reviews wisely and authoritatively four books on Latin America. . . . And—let the joy be unconfined—after a disgraceful absence of almost a year—we give you—for a return engagement—of—we pray—indefinite length—Miss **Joan Didion**!

➔ Did you notice that the Academy of American Poets, presumably so impressed by Ezra Pound's new poem in the last issue of *NR,* gave him its coveted Poetry Prize? ➔

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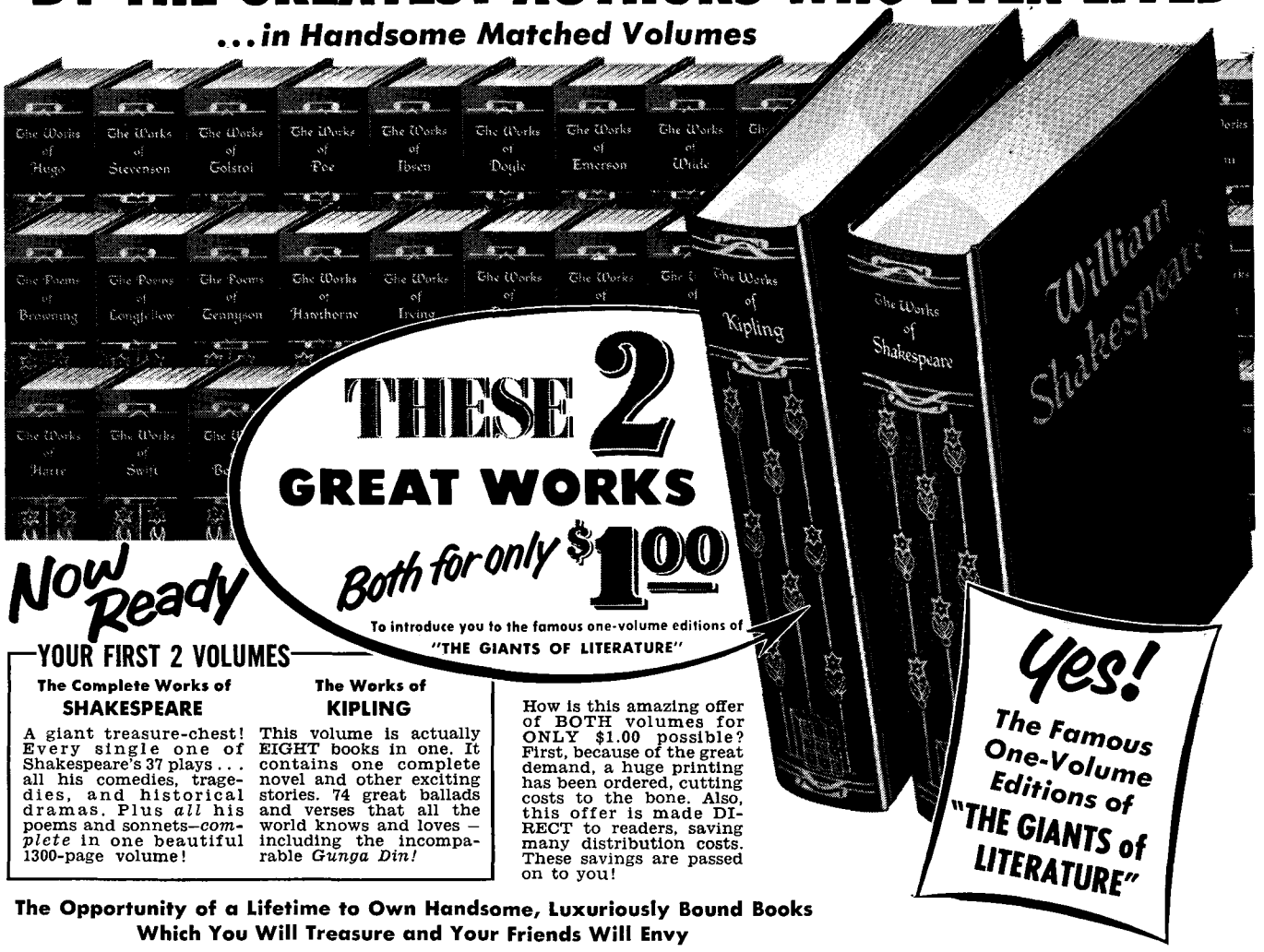

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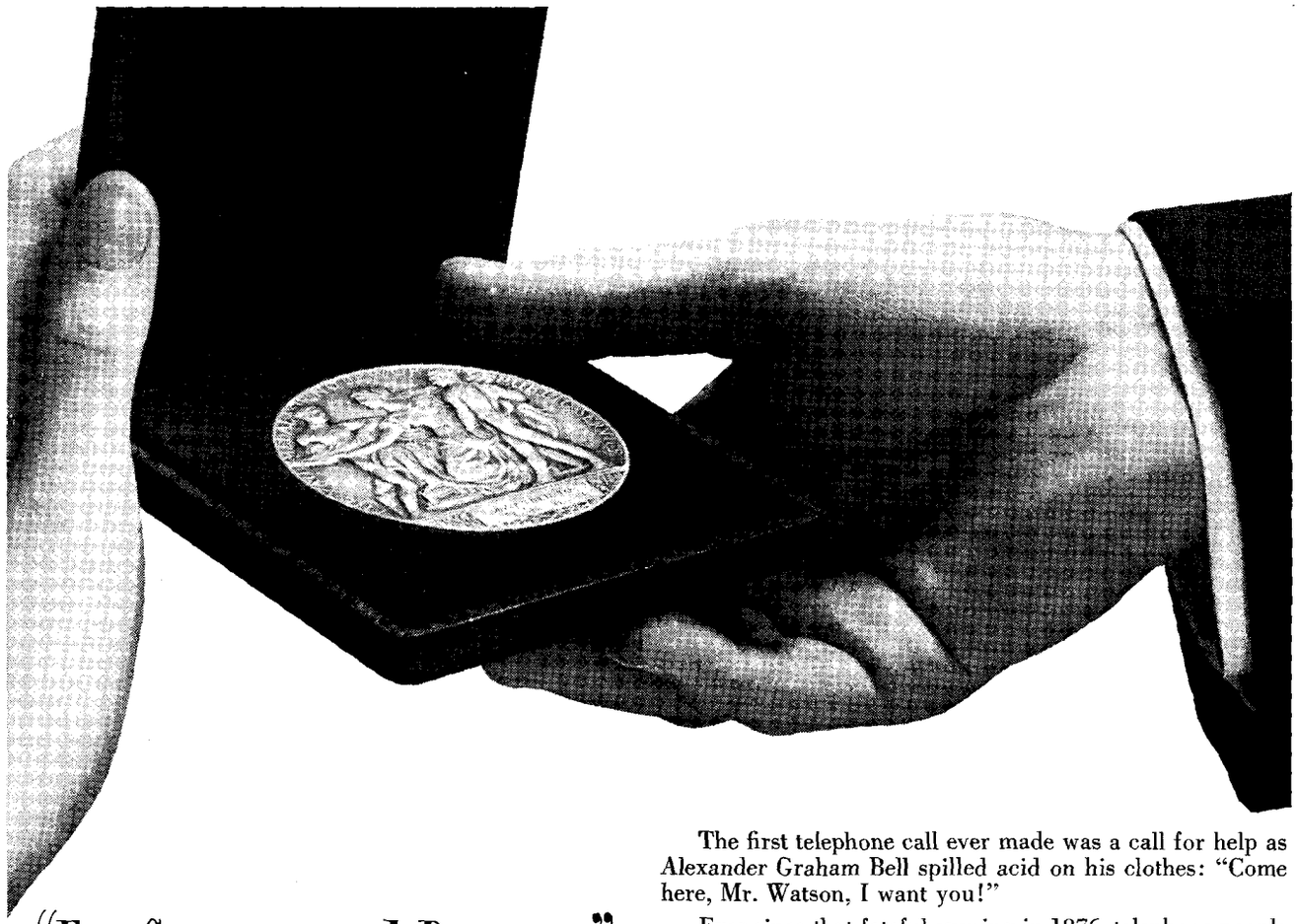

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Kenneth E. Ferguson, Installer-Repairman, Newport News, Virginia. En route to a repair job, he came upon a burning house where a blind, bedridden woman lay helpless. Ripping out a window, he and a policeman entered the flaming room. They were forced out by intense heat and smoke. Mr. Ferguson ran to a nearby house for blankets. Wrapped in wet blankets, the two men re-entered and rescued the woman.

Mrs. Dorothy Crozier, Operator, San Rafael, California. She took a call from a frantic mother whose small son had stopped breathing. After notifying both ambulance and fire department, Mrs. Crozier realized that traffic was heavy and time short. Over the telephone, she taught the mother mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. The boy was breathing when firemen arrived. Doctors credit his life to her alertness.

Charles J. Gilman, Communications Serviceman, Bellwood, Illinois. Driving to an assignment, he saw an overturned car and found a man under it bleeding profusely. Cautioning bystanders not to smoke, he helped remove the victim. The man's arm was almost severed below the shoulder and he seemed in shock. Mr. Gilman applied a tourniquet and kept pressure on it until an ambulance arrived.

Leonard C. Jones, Supplies Serviceman, Morgantown, West Virginia. He noticed a neighboring house on fire. Rushing to it, he helped a father rescue three young children. Then he plunged back into the burning building and, guided only by cries through the choking smoke, found and saved another child who was hiding under a couch in the blazing living room. Minutes after he left, the wooden house collapsed.

Franklin Daniel Gurtner, Station Installer, Auburn, Washington. He heard a request for emergency breathing equipment on his radio monitor and hurried to the address, where a baby was strangling. He found the child's air passage was blocked, cleared it, and successfully administered mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. Then the fire department arrived and applied oxygen to help overcome shock.

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The WEEK

● LBJ *et al.* itin. Local discontent with imperial trade policies necessitates your immediate presence in Outlying Regions. You will proceed by Trans-Visigoth Airlines to the Scandinavian Territories, where you will be met by inflatable crowds who will cheer glumly. You are instructed to make spontaneous purchases from small merchants and to point a warning finger at malcontent authorities. Be of Good Will, take the family, and smile a lot. We'll cover for you at home. /s/ The Boss.

● Admiral George Anderson (ret.), former Chief of Naval Operations who got the axe for speaking his mind, elaborated on his concern last week before the National Press Club in Washington, en route to Lisbon where he will serve as Ambassador, and explain to Salazar why it is absolutely necessary for the United States to betray Portugal. He discussed the deterioration of morale in the armed services ever since the computers and their mahouts took over the Pentagon. Civilian leaders should recognize, he said, that the expression of expert opinion by military leaders is not *eo ipso* a challenge to civilian control. He cited the "abrupt reversal of military recommendations without interim consultation, as was the case in the TFX and VTOL contracts," and painted a picture of skilled generals serving as uniformed butlers for the warriors from Harvard. Great lakes of ink were consumed a few years ago to describe the damage to service morale done by Senator McCarthy, but Adm. Anderson's documentary drew scant attention from the press. The *Washington Post* drew the relevant distinction: it buried Adm. Anderson's speech in a small story back in the paper, and gave three-column front page coverage to the indictment of former McCarthy counsel Roy Cohn.

● In an unprecedented move, the Administration has let it be known that it will negotiate with the Common Market next year on virtually every item of U.S. export trade. Ordinarily it would have compiled its list of negotiable items after hearing arguments from the U. S. industries concerned. This year, U. S. industry will have to go to Washington with the foreknowledge that it fights against long odds, and beg for favors. No doubt the Administration will know how to turn its favors to business this year into favors from business in 1964. Which is, by the way, one of the main arguments against the kind of government intervention that tariffs give rise to.

● A judge of the California Superior Court was recently asked to award damages for slander to a woman who had been described by the defendant as a "Marxist-Socialist." The defendant pleaded the truth. Where did he get off calling her a Marxist-Socialist? Simple, said the defendant: the lady publicly called *herself* "a Marxist-Socialist and proud of it" just before *I* called her that. Ah, said the woman, but the crowd the defendant was addressing undoubtedly had in it people who think that all Marxist-Socialists are Communists, and so the defendant indirectly damaged me. I can't help what the crowd thinks, answered the defendant, I was just saying about the lady exactly, in just as many words, what she had been saying about herself! Said His Honor, in what is undoubtedly the craziest judgment in the recent history of law and slander: the lady can collect. Law students who don't believe us, see *Gaul* v. *Goff*, California, 1963.

● Senator Yarborough (D., Tex.) made one of his rare Senate speeches recently, and ended up wishing he'd stayed in bed. He was plucked from the shadows to defend the Area Redevelopment Agency, which has, in its short life, become the *pièce de résistance* for students of boondoggling. Senator Yarborough hawed and hymned, "The glory of the ARA, however, is that it is a program of self-help," and listed some of the ways Texas had helped itself to federal funds to finance such items as a new pickle plant. Senator Lausche, unmoved by the rhapsody, told the Senate about the new ARA plants that produce products already in over-supply, putting existing private industry out of business. Then Senator Tower recited a resolution adopted by the exasperated town council of Athens, Texas, which declared that Athens was *not* a depressed area, despite a contrary ARA finding, and that Athens intended to get along just fine without the aid of federal bureaucrats. Senator Yarborough retired to his office—one area that could use a little redeveloping.

● A note (of no historical importance) we thought you shouldn't miss. The country, Guinea. The city, Conakry. The occasion, a parade. Past the reviewing stand come the army, the navy, the bands, the boy-scouts and finally a crack motorized unit of police-women on shiny new U.S.-donated motorscooters. A brave sight, indeed. And braver than most spectators know. For the motorscooters arrived only yesterday; the lady policemen haven't had time to learn how to ride—or stop—them. What to do? One way—which is, as a matter of fact, the way it is handled—is to crank up the machines, line them up, hoist the ladies aboard,

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rev up the motors and wish them bon voyage. At the end of the parade route, as the city gives way to the jungle, brawny male Guineans are stationed to snatch the ladies as they streak grimly past. It's the truth, so help us.

● Pope Paul VI apparently does not intend to allow the Liberal Establishment around the world to transmute John XXIII's *Pacem in Terris* into a neutralist document. From Warsaw to Sarah Lawrence that encyclical was applauded as an advance by the Vatican toward "peaceful coexistence," and in some satellite countries of the Communist bloc this interpretation has been used to accuse anti-Communist Catholic clergymen of—naturally—disobedience to the Holy See. Not so, says Pope Paul, addressing a large group of clergymen at his summer residence. Marxism is like a "contagious and deadly illness," and the policy of the Vatican is to "fight it not only in theory but in practice." *In practice.* That phrase describes the reason for Cardinal Mindszenty's continued protest against the Hungarian Communist regime, a protest he expresses by refusing to depart from Hungarian soil, where he remains, in voluntary confinement, at the U.S. Legation in Budapest. As the Pope says, "Intransigence is the only weapon against the Marxist Communist ideology. . . ."

● Two adjoining Canadian prairie provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, are in instructive contrast. Alberta has the fastest economic growth rate in the nation, Saskatchewan one of the slowest. Alberta is debt-free, Saskatchewan is heavily in debt. Alberta is bringing in a medical care plan based on voluntary participation that has complete support from the doctors, insurance companies, and the public at large. Saskatchewan last year introduced compulsory medicare—provoking a doctors' strike, driving scores of badly-needed doctors out of the province permanently—which was settled only through a compromise that left an atmosphere of hatred and suspicion. Alberta has the most conservative government in Canada; Saskatchewan is ruled by the only outright socialist regime in the country.

● In his obituary on Guy Burgess, Joseph Newman of NBC calls the defection of Burgess and his fellow spy Donald Maclean one of the greatest allied security disasters in the postwar era, which indeed it was. But wait. Who was responsible for the flight of the flits? Senator McCarthy, no less. How's that again? Well, it goes this way. England was so upset by the McCarthy witchhunts in the States, that British security leaned over backwards not to be McCarthyite, so far backwards as to fail to spot even obvious security risks. It's amazing, the susceptibility of the British to McCarthyism.

● Heartless capitalism has bared its face in Glassport, Pa., where a glass company was wrecked in a windstorm early in August, throwing its 200 employees out of work. The capitalists who own the plant (leased to the glass company) had underinsured it; and despite the painful unemployment, they're doing nothing about putting up some money to rebuild the plant—even though the boss still draws his $114,000 a year. Who's the heartless capitalist owner? A Teamster union in New Jersey. And the 114-grand tycoon? Tony Provenzano, who won't really need that kind of pay in jail.

● The attorney for Mrs. Esther James has an idea we think we ought to pass along, as among the most creative recent suggestions on how to arrange the future of the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Mrs. James is the lady who sued the Reverend Powell for calling her a "bag-woman," which, said the jury, she most decidedly was not, and that will cost you, Mr. Powell, $211,500. Powell said that was more money than he had left, after taxes (or was it vice-versa?), and refused to pay; whereupon Mrs. James suggested to the judge that the least Powell could do was go to jail. But Powell filed a brief pointing out that as a congressman, he is immune from arrest during congressional sessions, under congressional privilege. At this point Mrs. James suggested that Mr. Powell stay in jail and be let out—but only to attend sessions of Congress; and her lawyer added—gratuitously, we admit, but irresistibly—that "maybe in this way Powell will devote more time to his congressional duties." To which we must, however, add, in caution, that the case is very strong against encouraging Mr. Powell to take an increased interest in congressional affairs.

Now—or Never?

It is truly a great debate that goes on the question whether to ratify the Moscow Treaty. In the past two issues we have given the arguments—overwhelming they appear to us—against taking this dangerous and self-deluding step. Now we note with satisfaction the remarkable organization of arguments in the report issued last week by the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, whose chairman, Mr. Stennis, resisting the great pressure of his own party, with the able assistance of Senator Thurmond and his brilliant aides, stubbornly dug out the facts on the basis of which laymen can evaluate the dangers of concluding this treaty.

Senator Stennis's report contains, primarily, elaborations on military and technological themes on which we have previously touched, but gives additional concrete data which suggest the urgent necessity that

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we test—that we test immediately, to follow up leads there is every reason to believe the Soviet Union got, as the result of its own brilliantly successful tests of a year ago.

Even if the Treaty of Moscow were beaten, and though the indications are that it will not be beaten, there is no doubting its diminishing popularity, there is no way to force the President to conduct tests if he chooses, as almost surely he would do, not to test. Under the circumstances, the question whether or not to test could become a great national issue during 1964. The defeat of this treaty could at least keep the issue open for public and expert discussion. To forever foreclose on the possibility of doing the testing necessary to learn what we need to know to ensure our defense is the tragic dimension of this treaty. We cannot know when the Soviet Union will choose to exploit whatever relative advantage she has got, on the basis of which she has pressed for a treaty now. "Do we imagine that in our case he will give warning of hostilities, especially when we are so eager to be deceived? Is there any intelligent man who would let words rather than deeds decide who is at peace and who is at war with him? When he lays hands on Megara, sets up tyrannies in Euboea, makes his way, as now, into Thrace, hatches plots in the Peloponnesus? He is breaking peace and making war upon us," Demosthenes warned his fellow Athenians, deploring a proposed treaty; and so, in changeless words, a few prescient senators are warning against the treaty with our own barbarians. One can only hope the Treaty of Moscow will suffer the fate of the Treaty of Salonika.

So It Goes

As we go to press, the farce appears to be over, and Governor Wallace, of course, lost. He got off rather a good line—"I cannot fight bayonets with my bare hands"—but otherwise it was a pretty flat performance, and one which, moreover, evoked those awful spectacles of white children jeering at Negro children, riding the waves of undirected spite which one of the purposes of going to school is to learn to dam. Let them jeer Warren, or JFK. But why Negro children?

At least on the issue of token integration, the South has clearly had it. State by state, they are eschewing the only road out, namely the dissolution of the public school system, the course of action adopted by Prince Edward County in Virginia. The people don't want to give up their public schools, it appears, and it appears that until they are prepared to do so, they will, increasingly, need to shape their lives after the latest revelation of the Supreme Court, whose members have taken to fingering the articles of the Constitution like so many tea leaves, out of which to pluck their neoteric fantasies, whenever the conventional arrangements begin to cloy.

Sending one's own children to one's own schools is a lot of trouble. But it is after all as feasible for lower and middle class Protestants in the South as it is for lower and middle class Catholics in the North to finance and patronize their own schools—to which in due course, and one would hope in substantial numbers, they would admit Negroes; but according to their own timetables, rather than those of Swedish ideologists or New York egalitarians. And if the statist conduit were considered indispensable, the state might —and indeed should, for reasons that have nothing to do with race relations—make out annual checks, payable to whatever school is selected by the children's parents. Thus it is in parts of Canada, and the system has not cried out loud for vilification by the voices of Liberalism. . . . Thus it still is with the GI Bill of Rights.

As it stands, the illusion of free public schools (they are of course not free; the average man pays taxes) has undermined the Southern resolution to run its affairs in its own way. So it goes in the Welfare State.

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One Day in the Life of an Uruguayan

"So milk has gone up again," the Uruguayan thinks to himself during breakfast. He just heard it on the radio. He doesn't have a newspaper, because today is Newsdealers Day, and the stands are closed. "The same with sugar," adds his wife, "and bread and . . ." He hurries to his office. On foot, because there's a bus strike. The city doesn't have the money to pay their wages, but a solution has been found: fares will be doubled. "No mail?" asks the Uruguayan when he gets to his office. No—the Post Office has been on strike for a week. The country doesn't have the money to pay postal wages. And a few letters might be important! Oh, well. Now for a serious discussion with a business contact. "I'll see if the phone is working," says the secretary. Actually the power plant is on strike too, because they want higher wages. But luckily the lights are on—the Army took over the power plant. Only there's a snag in the phone line: the strikers have been doing a little sabotage. The regime has decided to be firm . . . until it gives in. Then the utility bill will go up. Let's see, some import licenses and a few payments should be arranged with the bank. Oops, no can do—all the banks are closed. Yesterday a few employees were working as a sort of passive resistance—how nice it would be to think they're all on the job today! Why is the secretary crying? Ah yes, the firm her father works for is bankrupt; he's losing his job. And her brother works only three days a week at the textile factory. The Uruguayan goes home depressed. On the way he wants to visit a sick friend in the hospital. He isn't allowed to enter. Only emergency services gain admission, because the staff is on strike.

Why are the ashcans still on the street? "Today is City Employees Day," the wife explains. "So, no trash collection. But the health insurance premium is going up a third." The Uruguayan decides to put an end to this life. While the wife is sleeping he steals into the kitchen, shuts the window tight and turns on the gas valve. But next morning he's alive, and his wife is sound asleep but quite alive, too. The workers at the gas plant are conducting a sympathy strike for their colleagues at the power plant. So it's a cold breakfast, but at least one sees the wife and children again.

Grotesque? Only when it's all put together. But each calamity mentioned here is actual and true. At one time Uruguay enjoyed the reputation of the soundest country in South America. Today it's in a condition such as never before. The national budget shows a gigantic deficit, but whatever political party is in office overloads the official agencies with its favorites in order to buy votes, which only makes the deficit bigger, and since it has to be covered somehow, the prices go up. As an example: five years ago the nationalized Petroleum and Petroleum Products Corporation had 5,000 employees; now it has more than 10,000. In the past year alone the head of that department added about 1,000 employees to his staff simply for reasons of party politics; there were no jobs for them to fill. Soon thereafter the department presented an expense forecast with such a deficit that it was necessary to raise the price of its products 50 per cent. It's the same with every other city and national enterprise, and on occasion there aren't even enough chairs for all the employees, so that each morning there's a struggle for the available seats. The private bus lines in Montevideo barely cover their costs, the city lines don't. Both charge the same fare, but the private line hires only those employees it needs for the job.

Industry is almost at a standstill.

Social welfare charges, thought to be a "benefit," have become almost intolerable. In the worst case (the building trades) the social welfare charge amounts to 113 per cent of payroll: the worker pays 24 per cent of his wages into the social fund and the employer pays 89 per cent. All of this drives prices up, and that gives a boost to smuggling, which cuts deeply into normal trade. There's an acute money shortage. Private banks are asking, even on approval loans, 24 per cent or more in interest and "charges." Unemployment rises from day to day. The Treasury is empty. Imports carry an enormous duty and are much too costly. The national government borrows from every source, even dipping into the pension funds, which by themselves are suffering from terrific mismanagement.

Especially deplorable is the decline in civil morale, which once was high. In a time of widespread distress, when every wage demand creates a real problem, and people look to the bureaucracy for some relief, the parliament and the official agencies have raised their own salaries fourfold and fivefold! And so that their former colleagues might not become restive, they have voted to raise their government pensions to conform to the new level of government wages, based on the highest wage earned, for everyone who ever served in the House, the Senate, or an official agency for as little as one month. You can figure out the cost when you learn that one single official who retires on a pay level of 18,000 now gets 1,500 dollars a month. And he gets his pension quick as lightning, while the poor devils who get a couple of hundred pesos very often have to wait years. And there are more examples like that. Uruguay has lost the capacity to be ashamed of itself. There's only one thing it cannot bring itself to do: and that is to continue to call Uruguay "the Switzerland of South America." This epithet, which it was once so proud of, and which once was quite suitable, is no longer heard there. The irony would be too bitter.

ROBERT PETER

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A Recent Triumph

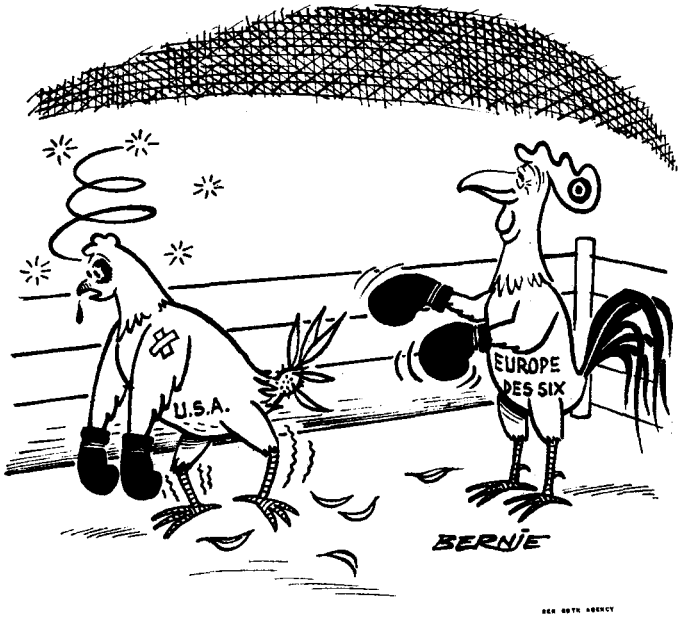
The Pakistan-India dispute worsened last week as each country expelled the other's air attaché on charges of espionage. As the quarrel deepens, the West will continue to lose ground in Asia.

The dispute arises from two main causes: Indian nationalists bitterly oppose the partition of the country (in a fashion reminiscent of Irish nationalists), and seek to reunify the subcontinent by force. They failed to prevent the split at independence, in spite of bloody fighting, and do not control India's government, but are a constant pressure on Nehru. And there is Kashmir. Both countries claim the beautiful region, but the inhabitants are mostly Moslems and would choose Pakistan if a free election were ever held. So Nehru keeps huge forces in Kashmir, in defiance of repeated UN resolutions.

Pakistan has been a firm ally of the West for a decade, but has recently shown signs of friendliness to Red China. Her alliance with the West has paid off neither in foreign aid (India has received far more), nor in support in the Kashmir dispute. The reason for such slighting treatment of an ally is the mystic allure the hypocritical Nehru has for Western Liberals.

Pakistan had been growing restive under this treatment when the Red Chinese invasion suddenly forced the issue. Pakistani leaders smarted under the insults of Afro-Asians—who derided her alliance with imperialists—and were resentful of the prestige of Yankee-baiting neutralists in Washington and the UN. When the U.S. announced full military aid to India, Pakistan's Ayub Khan was furious. He pointed out that most Indian troops and materiel were being retained along the Pakistani border, and fumed that Western arms would soon be used against Pakistan. From that moment on his government started making overtures to Mao, culminating in the recent agreement to allow the Red Chinese to use a Pakistani airstrip. The U.S. promptly cut back foreign aid to Pakistan. In the same week, Nehru reneged on a pledge to let the Voice of America operate a transmitter in India; U.S. aid to Nehru continued, unabated.

We should have capitalized on India's distress last fall to force a pullback of Indian troops from the Pakistani front, obtained from Nehru a pledge to submit the Kashmir question to binding international arbitration, and compelled him to cease his anti-Western moralizing by the East River. Instead, under our dynamic leadership, Nehru has our arms, our dollars, and his intransigence, and our erstwhile ally moves closer and closer to Peiping.



Bernie *Aux Ecoutes*, Paris

Chicken War . . . First Round

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

SHOULD EDGAR SMITH BE EXECUTED?
by D. G. M. Coxe

P*L*U*S

A special 24-page supplement on Politics and Religion and what students think of them on twelve major campuses

Sorry to See the Genius Go

Something recently tickled Mr. Walter Lippmann's toes, and he looked down, and, lo and behold, there he saw the Goldwater Movement. Accordingly he wrote a column on it, entitled, "The Goldwater Movement." Its thesis? The "genius" of American politics is its flight from political polarities, which is why the man in the center of one major political party is never very far away from the man in the center of the other political party. Goldwater is an exception, inasmuch as he is clearly the candidate of one end of a political party, just as William Jennings Bryan was; and the question is, will Goldwater succeed in acting as a magnetic field and moving the center towards himself? Or has the center itself already moved over? And in either case, what will happen to the genius of American politics?

Mr. Lippmann, as a matter of fact, is correct about that genius of American politics, to which we have many reasons to be grateful, it having saved us by and large from ideological parties, and from see-saw Administrations. The only trouble with the genius of

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American politics is that when all is said and done, it has brought us to our present lot, and if things go on as they go, that genius, while preserving a delicious political tranquility at home, will have proved insufficient to the needs of a free people living in our time. As conservatives we dearly hate to see the genius of American politics go, and hope, after a regroupment, to welcome it back, at some future moment, when the center of the Democratic Party finds itself located not far from the present right wing of the Republican Party. Perhaps in 1972, at the end of President Goldwater's second term?

Gold: The Talk Gets Tough

The tight connection between a country's internal policies and its international payments has been illustrated once more—this time by Italy since last April's elections gave her a twist to the left. Italian banks are finding it harder to borrow abroad, and what money they can find has been costing more and more. They need money because their loan ratio (investments as percentage of savings deposits) has been climbing rapidly—to 78.2 per cent on June 30, up from 72.7 per cent a year earlier. The decline in deposits can be traced to many factors, but it boils down to people ("the laboring classes," says one report) trying to protect themselves against the probable inflation of a welfarist state by buying tangible assets, or equities, or foreign accounts: and so the capital outflow has reached the highest rate since 1945.

The gold outflow from the U.S. during the last decade may be traced to a more complicated cluster of forces and is surely more serious, for it undermines the key currency of the West, the U.S. dollar. But the general rule applies here as well as in Italy: it is, ultimately, the policies of the regime in office which heal, or fail to heal, the lesion. On this we have been lectured more than once in recent weeks:

Item. President de Gaulle is reported to have told the U.S. Ambassador that he is annoyed by the hostile attitude of the Kennedy Administration, and that France holds a mortgage on $4 billion of U.S. gold. De Gaulle, in a word, could break the bank. Since that interview, the Kennedy Administration has toned down its carping at the Franco-German accord.

Item. Monetary officials of the six Common Market countries, meeting in Paris last week, said that the U.S. gold problem cannot be helped by creating new "international machinery" (which means, at bottom, merely new ways for the U.S. to borrow from abroad, just as Italy), and that the only solution is for the U.S. itself to exercise "discipline." Ask not, they seemed to say, what the Free World can do for the U.S., but what the U.S. can do to strengthen the key currency of the Free World.

Item. Eric Louw, Foreign Minister of South Africa, told a political rally on September 10 that his country too was dissatisfied with U.S. foreign policies and held a trump card in gold: "There are certain countries who would be only too glad to buy our gold production"—which means that South Africa, which accounts for two-thirds of the Free World gold production, contemplates using its power to bring us to our senses.

In the long run these foreign statesmen do us a favor by talking tough now, instead of waiting for the crisis. If straight talk hasn't gone completely out of fashion in Washington, there may yet be time to take corrective action, in Congress and in the White House, to spare the West a financial disaster far worse than that of 1932. In 1932 there was no Asian Empire waiting to pounce on the West when it was down.

Meanwhile in Africa

As ever (see James Burnham's column) our effective efforts are directed against our friends. (Can you name one neutralist we have recently inconvenienced? . . . Time.) The campaign against the Portuguese provinces in Africa, and against the Republic of South Africa, on the other hand, continues apace. In recent days Holden Roberto has announced that literally any day now, the forces of freedom—which we are to understand as the forces of Ghana (where anyone who denies the divinity of Nkrumah is, roughly speaking, killed), of Algeria (whose leader Ben Bella celebrates Castroism) and of Ethiopia (the oldest continuing despotism in recorded history)—are going to launch an invasion of Angola and Mozambique.

The Portuguese have said that they will defend by the force of arms their right to manage the affairs of the Portuguese territories. The United Nations, meanwhile, appears to be singularly unimpressed by the fact that there is no effective segregation in Mozambique or Angola against Negroes: that, on the contrary, there is integration there beyond the dreams of the integrationists in New York City. Never mind—the point is, there are white people making decisions in Mozambique and Angola, as perhaps is understandable considering that they got there four hundred years ago and are doing what they can—more so now, to be sure, than lately (lately, blacks and whites and orientals all over the world treated subjugated races like subjugated races)—to create a biracial community based on European concepts of law and order.

The boycotts of South Africa have had an effect there that any political sophomore might have predicted. The principal party of opposition to Dr.

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Verwoerd, the Union Party—the British Party, in effect—has rallied to Verwoerd as a result of outside pressures. In Durban, center of British intransigence, he recently received a tumultuous ovation. The African countries which closed their airports to South Africa's airline—something they would never do to the airplanes of the Soviet Union or Red China, whose sins have not yet, though only for the lack of opportunity, included discrimination against black people—have apparently been surprised by the ebullient circumnavigations of the South Africans' airline, on a westward course, touching down on Portuguese territories. A longer route, by two hours, than the direct ones previously traveled. But one which, one can predict, will nevertheless be patronized by those who, however they may disagree with the policies of Verwoerd, are not disposed to bend to the wishes of those who desire for South Africa, whites and Negroes, the quality of life which so greatly satisfies the Osagyefo Nkrumah; the terrorist Ben Bella; and the Lions of Judah and Liberalism, Haile Selassie and Adlai Stevenson.

Focus on '64

◆Dwight Eisenhower launched the Republican Citizens Councils a year ago in the hope of organizing the precinct GOP workers behind his wing of the party, but it isn't working that way. In state after state, Connecticut most recently and prominently, public activities of the GOP Citizens Councils make it plain that the leadership and the rank and file are Goldwater supporters. (Another confirmation of polls showing 70 per cent of GOP workers favor Goldwater.) Ike, by the way, had a deal clinched when he blew the bubble for Gen. Clay: if nothing comes by Sept. 15, the Ike forces will swing in behind Gov. Scranton.

◆ As to the primaries, it's not enough to say they constitute a crucial test for Goldwater. They're *the* crucial test for Rockefeller. None other than James Reston of the *New York Times* has said that Goldwater has the nomination in the bag "unless Rockefeller can pick up enough votes in the primaries to keep Goldwater from sewing it up before they all even get to San Francisco." That's why the GOP primaries will be, as Arthur Krock notes, "the bitterest in American history."

◆ GOP tacticians of conservative stripe are undecided about the growth of third-party or third-faction movements such as the Virginia Conservative Council, which has guaranteed a place for Goldwater on the Presidential ballot in Virginia in case the GOP doesn't nominate him. They fear that Goldwater's supporters will fan out into disorganized factions. On the other hand, they recognize that the existence of widespread and massive support will guarantee the most dynamic GOP campaign in years—*if* Goldwater gets the nomination. Thirty-eight states could pull a Virginia.

◆ Rocky keeps running into Conservative Party booths at county fairs up and down the Hudson Valley. The September Board of Governors meeting of the New York YR clubs sported buttons and posters for Goldwater here and there; there was no evidence of group support for anyone else; and the mention of Rockefeller in the main address drew no response from the audience of YR leaders from every area of the state. The extremely small margin of victory (170 votes out of 22,000) for Rocky's cousin, Richard Aldrich, in the primaries for Manhattan councilman at large shows serious erosion in Rocky's following within the New York GOP. Rocky's forces had pulled every known string for Cousin Dick. Admitting his weakness in his home state, Rocky has issued orders for the GOP not to put up any candidate for associate justice of the Court of Appeals this fall.

◆ Out West it's not better. Rocky hit a wall of ice in Illinois. Columnists Evans and Novak report, "He has no Midwestern supporters at all. . . . Out of some 10,000 Republicans . . . in Oregon, Ill., there was nary a Rockefeller campaign button to be seen . . . compared with hundreds of Goldwater buttons purchased for 25 cents each. . . . More important, not one local Republican leader—not even crypto-critics of Goldwater—is willing to risk his political neck by endorsing Rockefeller." And the arrangements in Eugene, Oregon tell the same story. Goldwater and Rocky will speak there on October 12—Rocky at a pavilion that seats 10,000, and Goldwater at Haward Field, which holds 22,000.

◆ Has the John Birch Society been infiltrated? *Chicago Sun Times*: "Asked about the John Birch Society, Rockefeller called attention to the fact that they are not a political organization and cited a welcome extended him on his visit here by Robert J. Koenig, John Birch coordinator for the Midwest area."

◆ Insight into the Rocky operation: For many years New York Assembly Speaker Joseph Carlino says private polls in Nassau County show Rockefeller is losing ground there. *Wall Street Journal's* Alan Otten says, "There isn't much doubt that the Arizona conservative is, as of the moment, the front-runner for the Republican Presidential nomination next year."

◆ Which may explain why Goldwater has reserved the whole 15th floor of the Mark Hopkins in San Francisco for the convention period next July. That's 51 rooms, enough to accommodate 76 people.

◆ Caution. There's talk that the grand strategy of the Ike wing is to ruin both Rocky and Goldwater in the primaries, then invent Nixon again. Don't be too sure. Ike watches the opinion polls too.

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For the Record

New Hampshire Republicans not joining rest of nation in joyous chortling over Harold Stassen's entry into N.H. Presidential primary. They believe man behind Stassen bid is Sherman Adams, still an important political figure in his home state and still a close friend of Eisenhower. . . . An old friend of George Romney reports Romney is taking himself out of the '64 race and putting it in writing to his most active supporters. . . . Money now being raised in the South for the Atlanta Times, a conservative daily which hopes to start publication before January 1964. There's been a growing demand for a non McGillish paper in Georgia. . . . Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (79 Madison Ave., NYC) flooded with mail since its full page ad appeared in Washington Post. Ad has since been carried in fourteen other papers.

Bedtime stories about to be renewed in London. Next series is said to concern another top Tory politico. . . . British Labor Party no longer talking in terms of landslide in next election. . . . Pres. Goulart of Brazil in a jam. Both Gov. Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara Province (Rio) and Gov. Adhemar de Barros of Sao Paulo have announced they won't receive Tito when he arrives in Brazil this week, and won't guarantee his security. . . . Dr. Breitenecker, the well known Viennese physician who was asked by the United Nations to investigate the death of three Red Cross officials in Katanga in January '62, reports he turned in his findings a "long time ago." They have not been published. (He concluded that UN troops were guilty of the murders.)

Sen. Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) reports it cost District of Columbia $163,794 to prepare for, police, and clean up after August 28 March on Washington (plus $5,000 in box lunches for gendarmes). . . . An Episcopal minister in Elizabeth, N.J., is opening his church early every day to hold brief services for children on their way to school.

Writer and satirist Evelyn Waugh on the human condition, circa 1963: "In offices and workshops people do less and less in quality and quantity, for even larger wages with which to pay larger taxes for services which diminish in quality and quantity."

Robert Schuman, RIP

In the year 843 the Holy Roman Empire was divided among three grandsons of Charlemagne, and so were formed in rough outline the present nations of France and Germany, and their perennial battleground, which went to Lothar and became known as Lothar's realm, Lorraine. Robert Schuman was born in a part of the ancient Lorraine now known as Luxembourg, worked through to his doctorate in German and Alsatian universities, stayed east of the Rhine during the First World War, and served France as an elected official almost continuously after 1919, Lorraine having then become a part of France. Perhaps as he watched, from Germany, the heroic defense of France at Verdun in 1916, he thought of the year 843 and the Treaty of Verdun to which a millenium of hostility might be traced, and weighed the odds of transcending thirty generations of conflict. Was it the burden of history and the magnitude of his dream that induced in him the sad-eyed, quiet, laborious endurance that marked his four decades of public life? Whatever it was, he waited for his moment, and after the Second World War he struck the historic blow for European unity: the creation of the group that has become the Coal and Steel Community, coordinating the ancient industrial rivals in France, Germany, and—Lorraine. Time passed; the Common Market sprang up; Robert Schuman was never satisfied. Europe, he thought, should be unified totally, in economics, politics, everything. He took his disappointment calmly, knowing that a dream very often outruns the possibilities, and that such a dream, for such a Europe, faced problems of more than passing moment. But a happy ending can crown even the longest story, as no one would have been happier to admit than this son of Charlemagne.

W.F.R.

Notes and Asides

The Gold for Goldwater movement, the bright creation of Mrs. Truman Stevens Wood of Omaha, Nebraska, has gotten inquiries from about 25 states. (You make a check out to G for G, dated 20 July 1964, and it's negotiated *only* if your man gets the GOP nomination.) The idea is that a pile of earmarked cash would argue in favor of a Goldwater nomination, but the National Draft Goldwater Committee thinks an even stronger argument would be Goldwater victories in the primaries. Which in turn means giving Goldwater the financial support now. Readers who are disloyal enough to have any cash left over from *NR*'s last fund appeal should—be ashamed of themselves.

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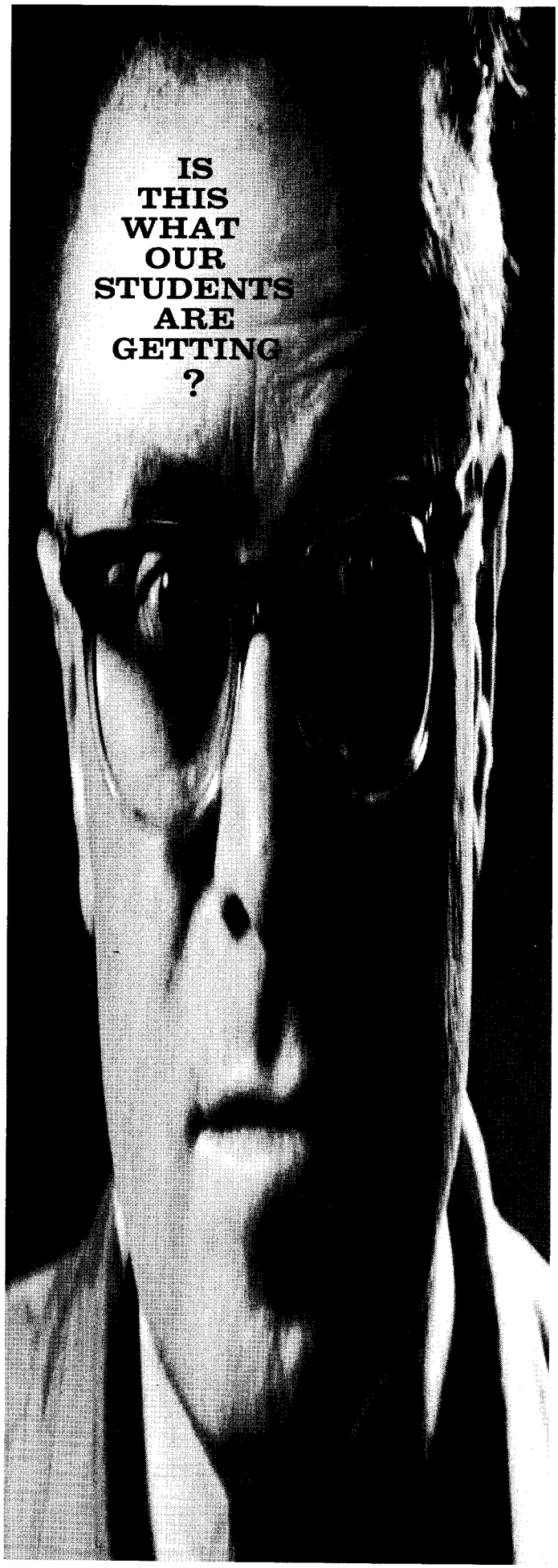

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From Washington Straight

CATO

This is test-ban week in Washington, and all talk is focused on the Treaty of Moscow.

As previously reported, public apathy on the treaty has been the most effective ally of treaty advocates. Many senators, unable to assay constituents' thinking, have drifted toward ratification despite their own grave doubts. The Administration and the Establishment have contended all along that public sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of the treaty. In absence of contrary evidence, the Senate had, until last week, accepted this line. One Republican conservative told the press corps in a "not for attribution" statement, that be felt a vote against the treaty would be "political suicide."

Cato

When the treaty first reached the Senate, the volume of mail was slight and evenly divided. As successive witnesses testified and unfavorable facts about the treaty came to light (and some of the most damaging evidence on the treaty came from witnesses who favored ratification) mail started to pour in, about 70 per cent of it anti. But still the volume was too slight to change many votes. At that point, about three weeks ago, Liberal reporters on the Hill were freely predicting that no more than eight senators would oppose the treaty.

Senator Goldwater, who expressed doubts about the treaty from the beginning, then found the fuse needed to ignite latent public opposition and, as a result, opponents now think they have an outside chance of defeating it.

When Senator Goldwater proposed a reservation that would postpone the operational date of the treaty until Russian troops had left Cuba, he set off a chain reaction: mail and telegrams are now flooding into Washington, with a huge majority opposing the treaty. Even Senator Fulbright admitted getting 1,000 communications last week, running 2-1 against it. Goldwater got 400 telegrams in a weekend, with only four opposing his reservation.

The Special Preparedness Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Stennis, has now given wavering senators a solid reason to vote against ratification. If Hill gossip is to be believed, between 25 and 30 senators will vote against ratification, and 30 will vote for the Goldwater reservation. (Only 34 votes are needed to block the treaty.)

The frenzy which has suddenly gripped Administration forces, as White House aides scurry about, putting enormous pressure on doubtful senators, indicates JFK is also plenty worried. Many senators now feel a vote *for* the treaty may well turn out to be "political suicide."

Many Washington observers are wondering about the Harris Polls, which run in the *Washington Post*, its affiliate *Newsweek*, and many other newspapers.

Harris worked for some years as John Kennedy's private pollster. The Kennedy campaign relied heavily on Harris' findings and the Kennedy Administration has used Harris' surveys to determine public reaction to its programs.

Now that Harris has moved into competition with established pollsters such as Gallup and Roper, it is noticed that his results provide aid and comfort to the Administration.

A mid-August Harris poll showed that the GOP's best hopes for '64 hinged on taking an ultra-Liberal stance on a number of questions. Another recent poll shows massive public support for federal aid to education.

Both these results are questioned by congressmen, on the basis of their own private polls. The first poll showed Kennedy most popular for his handling of foreign policy. But this is precisely the area where congressional sampling shows the President weakest. The second poll conflicts with congressional polls that show an even division of opinion on aid for school construction, but heavy opposition to aid for teachers' salaries.

One year ago, it is now being recalled, Barry Goldwater predicted the Administration would take some action on Cuba just before the congressional elections.

The validity of that prediction and the resultant disaster for the GOP are factors in the anxiety felt in GOP circles about '64. It is widely rumored that next summer or early fall the Soviets will 1) tear down the Berlin Wall, and 2) take their troops out of Cuba, dispose of Castro and permit a left-wing regime to take over in Havana.

The burning question, of course, is: What could Kennedy give Khrushchev in return for a Democratic victory at the polls? The answer may be massive trade with the Communist bloc based on generous credit terms. Already Washington insiders say the Administration is heading this way. They point out that this would be a logical "second step" in the "normalization" of relations with Russia.

The Administration tax bill finally reached the floor of the House last week. Rep. John Byrnes (R., Wis.), ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, has repeatedly warned the Administration it will not get a tax cut without a complementary hack at expenditures. With no spending cut planned, Rep. Byrnes will fight the bill with all his not inconsiderable power.

He has two strong suits. First, all polls show the public is opposed to any tax cut not tied to a reduction in federal deficits. Second, the bill gives fairly lavish benefits to top corporation executives in stock option treatment, substantial benefits to high brackets generally. While this latter provision makes economic sense, Rep. Byrnes is supplied with an obvious political ploy to attack the bill broadside. With so many hundreds of individuals involved, any prediction is risky, but Republican insiders think they may defeat the bill narrowly on the floor.

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Special Report

U.S. Students in Cuba: How Far Left?

WILLIAM SCHULZ

As the crow flies, Havana is an easy, 1,528-mile hop from New York City. As young leftists fly, it is a grueling, five-day, 9,467-mile trek across, then back across, the same ocean.

Security files show this particular trip began June 25, when 59 U.S. students left New York's International Airport via Dutch and British carriers for Prague. There they switched planes and boarded a Czech jet for Havana. On June 30, five days after they left, the Americans, tired and rumpled, touched down on Cuban soil.

For more than seven weeks, the carefree youngsters frolicked in the Caribbean sun. They roamed the Sierra Maestra where Fidel Castro once stalked, strolled along the now calm beaches that line the Bay of Pigs. They played Ping-pong with Fidel Castro and listened intently as brother Raúl told of the Revolution. They chatted amicably with Armando Hart, the fanatical Communist who heads up the Ministry of Education. They swapped recipes with Vera Espin, steel-hard wife of Raúl. They took their turns broadcasting messages of good will ("Everywhere we have gone, we have seen the truth") over the facilities of Radio Havana.

Just who were these 59? And how did the trip come about? Plans for the Cuban trip were first made last fall by a group of New York students, many of whom had been active in Progressive Labor, a comparatively new outfit whose founders had been bounced from the Communist Party for "Albanianist deviation." The young people formed the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, then wrangled an invitation from the Cuban University Student Federation to spend their Christmas vacations in Havana. The students were to board a Cubana Airlines plane in Montreal, December 23, for the start of a two-week trip. They never got off the ground. The Canadian Government refused to allow the Cuban plane to pick up the tourists.

Trip leaders vowed they would soon go "by another route." They returned to New York determined to tear down "the State Department's curtain of lies which keeps the American people from the truth about Cuba." They conferred with officials of the Cuban and Czechoslovakian delegations in New York, again recruited students. They aimed for 86, ended up with 59. An unidentified Canadian named "Jacobs" put down the $30,000 they needed to pay the N.Y.-Prague-Havana fare. The trip is believed to have cost Fidel Castro upward of $200,000.

The trip leaders were:

1. Steve Martinot, a sandy-haired graduate of Antioch College who was making his second Cuban trip. He helped form a Progressive Labor Student Club at Columbia last year while studying graduate mathematics. His position: "Our goal is to work toward establishment of a revolutionary Socialist Party in the United States. The aim would be for the working class, people who don't have a stake in management or ownership, to seize political control of the State."

2. Levi Laub, a one-time Columbia undergraduate who serves now as "spokesman" for the visiting Americans. He told newsmen in Havana he was "tired of canned reports, misleading synopses, garbled accounts, half-truths, and no-truths." He wished to see the Revolution himself. His "progressive labor" philosophy: "We consider ourselves Marxist-Leninists. Whatever name you want to call us—Communist, Socialist—if it fits, we'll wear it. We defend the Communist Party's right to exist in the United States and we're opposed to the sustained campaign against it."

3. Philip Luce, who told the AP in Havana he is a student at Ohio State University. Not exactly. Luce is a former student who was denied the right to speak at his alma mater in the spring of 1962. He works now as Campus Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, an officially cited Communist front.

Do they fear the future? No, says Wendy Nakashima, a pretty young thing who made quite a name for herself in New York Young Communist circles. In a broadcast beamed to Western Europe, Wendy scoffed at reports the government would prosecute them upon their return: "I can't really expect too much from the government except perhaps it will take away our passports. I don't think in the light of the international publicity we have been getting that the Administration can do any more."

A Crackdown?

The law is clear. Under Section 1185, Title VIII of the U.S. code, travel to Cuba is prohibited to all except those who possess specially validated passports, and the 58 Americans do not. (The 59th was drowned during the trip.) Lawyers in Bob Kennedy's Justice Department have urged a crackdown on the students. They point out they were warned time and again of the ban on Cuban travel and the five-year imprisonment violators face. They would like to have a special grand jury question them.

But in Foggy Bottom, a different story was heard. A State Department spokesman expressed the hope soon after the students first broke the law that "they would have an opportunity to talk" with Cubans in every walk of life. He did voice "annoyance" that some of the students chose to go on Radio Havana with testimonials for Fidel Castro ("very human, very humane," gushed one). When most of the students refused to allow Immigration officials to stamp their passports "invalid" at Idlewild Airport upon their return, the State Department backed down to the extent of handing the recalcitrants a letter informing them that their passports were "tentatively" invalid.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, however, should prove a harder nut to crack. Five of the students have been subpenaed by the Committee, which hopes to place on the record their pre-Cuba political orientation to counter their effectiveness as Castro propagandists.

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Excitement at the Nevada proving grounds! See nuclear tests cancelled.

Become a foreign policy planner. Master the use of the double standard. Learn the art of undercutting allies.

Study selective tax cutting—fill out a return with Adam Clayton Powell.

Sit in on behind-the-scenes activity in Washington during the Bay of Pigs invasion. Cancel crucial air cover.

Be a U.S. delegate at the United Nations. Vote to have the American people pick up the check.

DIRECTIONS:

50 mile hikers—just keep turning left. Buses marked "Foggy Bottom" leave from the giant statue of Mrs. Roosevelt. By subway: the J, F or K local. (Further transportation promised by the Mass Transit Bill.)

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Civil Rights and Legal Wrongs

JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

A careful analysis of the President's Civil Rights Bill: why it is vital for all Americans, Negro and white, present and future, that it be voted down

The logic is said to go something like this: All decent Americans should support good things. All decent Americans should oppose bad things. Racial discrimination is a bad thing. Bills to prohibit racial discrimination are good things. The President's pending Civil Rights Bill is intended to prohibit racial discrimination. Therefore, his bill is a good thing, and all decent Americans should support it.

If this were all there were to it—if the problem were as simple as A plus B, and therefore C—nothing could be gained by further discussion of the President's proposal. All decent Americans would be of one mind.

But the problems that have produced this bill are not easy problems, and the bill is not a simple bill. One of the great distinctions of the American system is that we try always to distinguish between the means and the end—between the goal itself, and the way in which a goal is reached. Such careful distinctions need to be made in this case.

I believe this bill is a very bad bill. In my view, the means here proposed are the wrong means. The weapons the President would contrive against race prejudice are the wrong weapons. In the name of achieving certain "rights" for one group of citizens, this bill would impose some fateful compulsions on another group of citizens. It may be well-intentioned, but good intentions are not enough.

In my judgment, this bill violates the Constitution in half a dozen different ways:

It would tend to destroy the States' control of their own voting requirements.

It would stretch the Commerce Clause beyond recognition.

It wrongly would invoke the 14th Amendment.

It would undermine the most precious rights of property.

It would raise grave questions of a citizen's right to jury trial.

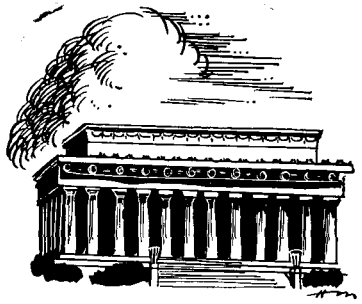
It would open new doors to the forces of government regimentation.

And in the end, because of the violence that would be done to fundamental law, Americans of every race would suffer equal harm.

The emotionalism of this turbulent summer is largely responsible for the serious attention now given the bill and for the eminent voices raised in its behalf. In a calmer climate, the bill's defects would be readily apparent. But this is not a calm time; it is a passionate time, and dispassionate thought comes hard. In this emotional hour, one is tempted to leap from a sincere conviction that discrimination is wrong, to a false conclusion that a federal law is the proper way to prevent it. I do not believe that intensely personal pro-racial feeling can be solved by any federal law; the roots go deeper than Congress can reach.

Mr. Kennedy's omnibus Civil Rights Bill of 1963 (S. 1731) is divided into seven major titles. I propose to take up these titles, one by one, and discuss them with the care and attention they deserve.*

*With the exception of Title V which would extend the life of the Commission on Civil Rights and which raises no constitutional issue.



Title I: Voting Rights

In the United States, beyond all question, the right to vote is just that, a *right* to vote. For most Americans, probably the ancient right of property ranks first in their daily lives; it is the oldest right of all. But as political beings, they view the right to vote as basic. As the President has said, it is ultimately the right on which the security of all other rights depends.

A moment's reflection, however, reminds us that the right to vote is not an absolute right. Children cannot vote. Lunatics cannot vote. Certain convicts cannot vote. Beyond these obvious limitations, it is evident that persons in Virginia cannot vote for a senator from New York. Residents of Albany cannot vote for the City Council of Schenectady. And the man who moves to Manhattan on a Monday cannot vote for the mayor on Tuesday. These are elementary considerations, of course, but it does no harm to spell them out.

Why is all this so? It is because the right to vote, though it is described in the 15th Amendment as a right accruing to "citizens of the United States," is in its exercise a right accruing to citizens of the several separate States. It never should be forgotten that whenever we vote, we vote as citizens of our States. We never vote nationally. We are always, at the polls, Virginians, New Yorkers, Texans, Missourians. As voters, we are never "Americans." The idea is hard to get accustomed to; but it is so. The Constitution makes it so.

Three provisions of the Constitution merit attention. First, the 15th Amendment. It is very short:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State *on account of race,*

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color, or previous condition of servitude. [Emphasis added].

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The briefest perusal of Mr. Kennedy's pending Civil Rights Bill will disclose that some of its most important provisions are not related to the denial or abridgment of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The 15th Amendment is not relied on at all. If the bill were based clearly upon the Fifteenth, one's position in opposing it would be wholly different. One might object that a bill along these lines were unwise, or unwarranted; but one would not oppose it as unconstitutional. No. In its provisions relating to a standard literacy test, and in other provisions, the Administration's bill has nothing to do with State deprivals in the area of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." *This bill applies to all citizens, everywhere.*

Therefore, other provisions of the Constitution come into play. The first of these provisions appears in the second paragraph of Article 1. It tells us who shall be qualified to vote in what often are termed federal elections—that is, who shall be qualified to vote for members of Congress. It reads:

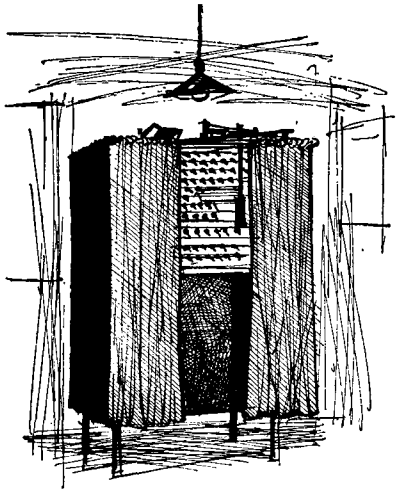
> The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year *by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.* [Emphasis supplied].

The final provision of the Constitution of concern to us here is to be found in Article 1, Section 4. It reads:

> The *times, places,* and *manner* of holding elections for Senators shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof: But the Congress may at any time by law make or alter *such regulations,* except as to the places of choosing Senators. [Emphasis supplied].

Now, keeping these provisions in mind for the moment, consider what is proposed in Title I of Mr. Kennedy's omnibus bill. We find some astounding things.

First, and this is merely by way of example, we may note that the power of the States to impose a poll tax (for good or ill) has not yet been repealed. A constitutional amendment to achieve that end is actively pending. At the time the President's bill was introduced, 36 States—but not the necessary 38 States—had agreed to a constitutional amendment to prohibit such taxes. As this is written, poll taxes are as lawful, as constitutional, as any other tax. But the President's bill simply ignores the process of formal constitutional amendment. It is as if the pending constitutional amendment did not exist. The bill proposes by simple statute to declare that "no person acting under color of law shall . . . deny the right of any individual to vote in any federal election because



of an omission of such individual relating to the payment of poll tax." I take no position one way or another on the merits of a poll tax. The point here is that the machinery already is fully in motion for abolition of this tax by proper constitutional process, but the Administration is unwilling to wait upon such machinery. It is filled with impatience. It cannot pause. So the President's bill undertakes to accomplish by simple congressional enactment what Congress has decreed may be accomplished only by a constitutional amendment.

This comparatively minor provision, of potential application to five States only, is cited by way of example, to suggest the zeal for hurried change that underlies this title of the bill. Title I goes on to lay down rules for the use of literacy tests, not as such tests may affect persons of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," but as they may affect *every* person. Here the bill leaves the 15th Amendment altogether, and trespasses upon the other constitutional provisions quoted. The bill would prohibit the use by any State of a literacy test unless such tests met federal requirements—unless the tests were "wholly in writing" and unless a copy of such test were furnished the individual registrant "within 25 days of the submission of his written request." Beyond this, the bill would provide that State literacy tests were of no consequence anyhow: any person who had completed the sixth grade of a public school or an accredited private school would arbitrarily be deemed to possess "sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any federal election."

Again, I take no position here on the merits of these proposals as such. They are as may be. My contention is that such proposals plainly deal with the qualifications of electors in the several States. These proposals have nothing whatever to do with the "times, places and manner of holding elections." They are simply beyond the authority of the Congess to enact. They plainly encroach upon the power of each State to fix "qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."

The President's bill continues with a provision aimed at certain of the Southern States, in which—in a scattering of counties—fewer than 15 per cent of the adult Negroes have registered to vote. I have no patience with conspiracies or chicanery or acts of intimidation intended to deny genuinely qualified Negroes the right to vote. Wherever such acts have occurred, they are to be emphatically condemned. I do say this: There is abundant law on the books—there was abundant law on the books even prior to enactment of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960—to prohibit and to punish such willful acts by local registrars. All that is required is that these existing laws be enforced. If the Congress somehow is persuaded that still further law is required to enforce the 15th Amendment, I would raise no constitutional objection. In the area of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," the Amendment plainly vests in Congress the power to adopt appropriate legislation.

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To come back to the larger point, the key provisions of Title I, as a whole, have nothing to do with "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." These provisions assert, on the part of the Congress, some power to fix general qualifications for voters throughout the United States. If this principle be accepted, as to literacy tests and the rest, it must follow that Congress may fix a uniform age for voters, a uniform period of residence in state or city or precinct, and in every other fashion control the qualifications of electors. For sound reasons, the Constitution deliberately left the fixing of such qualifications in the control of each separate sovereign State. When the President's bill attempts to ride roughshod over this plain provision of the supreme law of the land, the President's bill violates the Constitution.

Title II: Public Accommodations

Perhaps the most obvious wrongness of Title II may be summed up in a phrase: This section is conceived in hypocrisy, and cannot rise above its shabby origins.

Title II opens with a long recital of "findings." In these opening paragraphs, the Congress purportedly "finds" all sorts of burdens upon interstate commerce, all resulting from acts of racial discrimination. It is of passing interest to inquire how the Congress has found these things, for the Administration's witnesses have provided no convincing evidence to point them out. Possibly we are to rely on faith alone. In any event, the Congress here "finds" that a substantial number of Negroes, traveling in interstate commerce, are denied convenient access to hotels, motels, and eating accommodations; that practices of audience discrimination in the entertainment industry create "serious and substantial" burdens upon interstate commerce; that fraternal, religious, and scientific conventions "frequently" are dissuaded from meeting in particular cities by reason of discriminatory practices; that business organizations "frequently" are hampered in setting up branch plants by reason of discrimination; finally, that—

> (h) The discriminatory practices described above are in *all* cases encouraged, fostered, or tolerated in some degree by the governmental authorities of the States in which they occur, *which license or protect the businesses involved by means of laws and ordinances and the activities of their executive and judicial officers.* [Emphasis supplied].

This is the strange and ominous foundation on which Title II is made to rest. Read it, I beg you. Ponder it! Reflect, if you please, upon this assertion of some federal authority over any business that may be "licensed" by State authority. Reflect, if you please, upon the vagueness of these "activities" of a State's executive and judicial officers. Because the very next sentence of this "finding" ties it all together:

> Such discriminatory practices, particularly when their cumulative effect throughout the Nation is considered, *take on the character of action by the States and therefore* fall within the ambit of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The object of this smooth leaping and hurdling is apparent to the most casual student of the Constitution. Obviously, the 14th Amendment does not prohibit acts of private discrimination in ordinary daily life. The Supreme Court of the United States repeatedly has said so. In an unbroken chain of opinions reaching back to 1883, the Court has ruled that the Amendment prohibits only those acts of discrimination that may be charged to the States themselves in such areas as voting rights, jury service, and access to public institutions. The Amendment says that "no State" shall deny equal protection. What individuals do is their own business. But suppose—as this bill proposes—that individual acts "take on the character of State acts"? In this event, the smallest retail establishment, the humblest soda fountain, "takes on the character" of the State itself. In effect it becomes the agency of the State. Its acts are State acts. Its denials are State denials. And in this fateful moment, the ancient distinctions between private property and public agencies fly out the window. Under the precedent here proposed, private property, as such, in this regard will have ceased to exist.

This is the very crux of Title II of the President's bill. These easy "findings" do not affect the South alone. They affect every State, every locality, every businessman. In this mad confusion of the Commerce Clause and the 14th Amendment, nothing makes sense.

The final finding reflects this confusion:

> (i) The burdens on and obstructions to commerce which are described above can best be removed by invoking the powers of Congress under the 14th Amendment and the commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States to prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in certain public establishments.

Again I invite the thoughtful reader to go back and read that paragraph once more. Ostensibly, the bill is here concerned with "burdens on and obstructions to" commerce. The power of the Congress in this area derives from Article 1, Section 8, vesting in Congress the power to "regulate commerce among the several States." But the object of this bill is not really to regulate commerce. The object of the bill, in its revealing words, is to "prohibit discrimination." The Commerce Clause is here being deceptively adapted not to commerce, but to social reform.

The substantive provisions of the President's bill then are set forth:

> Sec. 202. (a) All persons shall be entitled, without discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, religion or national origin, to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages and accommodations of the following public establishments:

And the bill sets them forth. Here they are line by line, the better to emphasize the sweep of this bill. The law, by its own terms, is to apply to:

> Every hotel,
> Every motel,
> Every other public place engaged in furnishing lodging to transient guests, including guests from other States traveling in interstate commerce:
> Every motion picture house,
> Every theater,
> Every sports arena,
> Every stadium,
> Every exhibition hall,
> Every other public place of amusement or entertainment which customarily presents motion pictures, performing groups, athletic teams, exhibitions or other sources of entertainment which move in interstate commerce; and

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Every retail shop,
Every department store,
Every market,
Every drugstore,
Every gasoline station, and
Every other public place which keeps goods for sale;
Every restaurant,
Every lunchroom,
Every lunch counter,
Every soda fountain, and
Every other public place engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises; and
Every other establishment where goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, or accommodations are held out to the public for sale, use, rent, or hire . . .

Then follows the superficial saving grace of "if." The provisions of Section 202 are to apply to such establishments "if"

(1) The goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, or accommodations offered by any such place or establishment are provided to a substantial degree to interstate travelers, or (2) a substantial portion of any goods held out to the public by any such place or establishment for sale, use, rent, or hire has moved in interstate commerce . . .

There are two other such provisions, but it is needless to quote them. The second proviso impales the smallest hotdog stand upon the transportation of its mustard. There is not a neighborhood soda fountain in America, not a dress shop, not a hat shop, not a beauty parlor, not a single place or establishment beyond the tiniest roadside stand of which it may be said that a substantial portion of its goods, held out for sale or use, has not moved in interstate commerce. Let us ponder the twisted construction here placed upon the Commerce Clause. When Congress first began to regulate "commerce among the several States," the object was to regulate the carriers in which the goods were hauled. In time, a second area of regulation developed, as the nature of the goods themselves came into the congressional power. Then a third area developed as Congress sought to regulate the conditions under which the goods themselves were manufactured.

In this bill, a fourth area is opened up. It is as wide as the world. Here the Congress proposes to impose a *requirement to serve*. Heretofore, such a requirement has been imposed solely in the area of public service corporations—the telephone companies, electric power companies, gas and water companies—the companies that operate as regulated public utilities. Now the restricted class of public service corporations is to be swept aside. Here Clancy's Grill and Mrs. Murphy's Hat Shoppe are equated with AT&T.

At this point I would beg the closest attention: I do not propose to defend racial discrimination. I do defend, with all the power at my command, the citizen's right to discriminate. However shocking the proposition may sound at first impression, I submit that under one name or another, this is what the Constitution, in part at least, is all about. This right is vital to the American system. If this be destroyed, the whole basis of individual liberty is destroyed. The American system does not rest upon some "right to be right," as some legislative majority may define what is "right." It rests solidly upon the individual's right to be wrong—upon his right in his personal life to be capricious, arbitrary, prejudiced, biased, opinionated, unreasonable—upon his right to act as a free man in a free society.

When a Virginian buys cigarettes made in Virginia, for that reason alone, as opposed to cigarettes made in Kentucky or North Carolina, he discriminates. When a housewife buys a nationally advertised lipstick, for that reason alone, as opposed to an unknown brand, she discriminates. When her husband buys an American automobile, for that reason alone, as opposed to a European automobile, he discriminates. *Every one of these acts of "discrimination" imposes some burden upon interstate commerce.*

But in a free society, these choices —these acts of prejudice, or discrimination, or arbitrary judgment—universally have been regarded as a man's right to make on his own.

The vice of Mr. Kennedy's Title II is that it tends to destroy this concept by creating a pattern of federal intervention. For the first time, outside the fully accepted area of public utilities, this bill undertakes to lay down a compulsion to sell.

We raise the point: If there can constitutionally be a compulsion to sell, why cannot there be, with equal justification, a compulsion to buy? In theory, the bill is concerned with "burdens on and obstructions to" commerce. In theory, the owner of the neighborhood restaurant imposes an intolerable burden upon interstate commerce if he refuses to serve a white or Negro customer, as the case may be. But let us suppose that by obeying some injunction to serve a Negro patron the proprietor of Clancy's Grill thereby loses the trade of ten white patrons. In the South, such a consequence is entirely likely; it has been demonstrated in the case of Southern movie houses. Can it be said that the refusal of the ten whites imposes no burden on interstate commerce? Plainly, these ten intransigent customers, under the theory of this bill, have imposed ten times as great a burden on commerce among the several States. Shall they, then, be compelled to return to Clancy's for their meals? Where does this line of reasoning lead us?

How would all this be enforced? Under Title II, the Attorney General would be required to investigate complaints of denial of service. Persistent acts of discrimination would be prohibited by federal injunctions, obtained in the name of the United States. Any person who attempted to interfere with Clancy's decision would be subject to individual injunction. And at the end of every such proceeding lies the threat of fine or imprisonment for contempt of court. *There would be no jury trials.*

Title III: Desegregation of Education

Title III of the President's bill goes far beyond all decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of school desegregation, for it implicitly couples the formal desegregation of public schools in the South with the elimination of "racial imbalance" in schools throughout the land. The bill proposes to achieve these aims by vesting broad new powers in the Commissioner of Education and the Attorney General. Even private schools, if their pupils received tuition grants from a governmental source, would be brought into line.

The opening provisions of Title III authorize the Commissioner, upon application from local school officials, to engage in a wide variety of programs of advice, technical assistance, grants, loans, contracts, and training institutes. The Commissioner alone would fix all "rules and regulations"

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for carrying out these programs to promote desegregation and to relieve "racial imbalance."

Presumably, the authority of Congress to promote this busywork for the Commissioner is to be found in the fifth section of the 14th Amendment. This is the section that empowers Congress to adopt "appropriate legislation" in support of the Equal Protection Clause. If the Equal Protection Clause truly were intended to prohibit a State from maintaining racially separate public schools, such legislation perhaps would be "appropriate." The history of public education in the United States, in the years immediately following the purported ratification of the 14th Amendment in 1868, utterly denies any such intention. To this day, no law of the United States requires desegregation. These programs of the Commissioner of Education are cart before horse; they are the sort of programs that would implement a law if there were a law; but there is no law. There is the Supreme Court's opinion of 1954 in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and there are other high court opinions emanating from it, but impressive and historic as these decisions may be, they are still no more than judgments binding named defendants in particular lawsuits.

It should be emphasized, again, that these decisions have nothing to do with "racial imbalance" in public schools. They are limited to judgments requiring that the States shall not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school the States maintain. The shifting of students from school to school in order to "remove racial imbalance," with or without federal aid and regulation, is not within the ambit of the desegregation decisions. Under this gross distortion of the 14th Amendment, school children throughout the country would become pawns in a game of power politics.

It seems desirable to keep this distinction in mind, between laws enacted by the Congress, and judgments imposed by the Court. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, but when the Court acts in a suit arising under the Constitution it acts judicially, not legislatively. If local school boards throughout the South are to be prohibited *by law* from maintaining separate school systems, a law must be passed "pursuant to the Constitution" to impose such a prohibition. I would take the position, in the light of the history of the 14th Amendment, that such a law would not be "pursuant to the Constitution." It would violate the plain intention both of those who framed the amendment and also of the States that ratified it. Such legislation would not be "appropriate" legislation.

More serious, in my view, [illegible] provisions of Title III [illegible] vest elaborate new powers in the Attorney General. The effect of these provisions would be to throw the entire massive weight of the Department of Justice, with its unlimited resources, into the scales of almost any parent in search of a free lawsuit. The basic complaint would be that some local school board "had failed to achieve desegregation." But in the overwhelming majority of school districts in the South, there is now no legal requirement that local school boards even attempt to achieve desegregation. Before there can be a failure of a duty, there must first be a duty. These provisions of the bill simply assume the duty, and leap to its failure.

Title IV: Establishment of Community Relations Service

This title would create a new federal agency, the "Community Relations Service," headed by a director at $20,000 a year. Presumably, it would fulfill some functions not now fulfilled by the Civil Rights Commission, the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, the established churches and various civic bodies, the countless racial commissions around the country, and the civil rights division of the Department of Justice. The duties of this Service would be "to provide assistance to communities *and persons therein* in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices." [Emphasis supplied].

I am not inclined to haggle over the amount of time, energy and money that might be wasted by one more federal agency in the civil rights field. I do call attention to the italicized language. It simply is not the function of Congress, under any provisions of the United States Constitution, to dispatch federal agents to countless communities in order to resolve racial disagreements among "persons therein."

Title VI: Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs

Title VI of the President's bill is not long. It had perhaps best be quoted in full:

> Sec. 601. Notwithstanding any provisions to the contrary in any law of the United States providing or authorizing direct or indirect financial assistance for or in connection with any program or activity by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, no such law shall be interpreted as requiring that such financial assistance shall be furnished in circumstances under which individuals participating in or benefitting from the program or activity are discriminated against on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin or are denied participation or benefits therein on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. All contracts made in connection with any such program or activity shall contain *such conditions as the President may prescribe* for the purpose of assuring

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that there shall be no discrimination in employment by any contractor or subcontractor on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. [Emphasis supplied.]

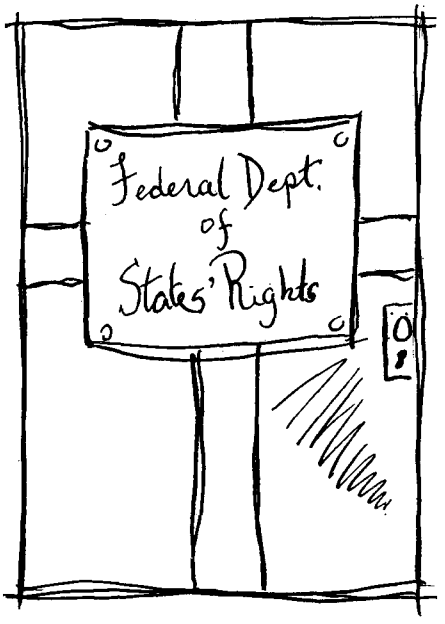
In April of 1963, the Civil Rights Commission recommended flatly to the President that he seek power to suspend or cancel either all, or selected parts of, the federal financial aid that now flows to such States as Mississippi "until [such States] comply with the Constitution and laws of the United States." It was unclear precisely how a judicial determination would be reached that entire States had failed to comply with the Constitution and laws of the United States, but this small question of due process apparently troubled the Commission not at all.

The question troubled Mr. Kennedy. In his press conference of April 17, the President blinked at this startling proposal and turned away from it:

> I don't have the power to cut off aid in a general way as was proposed by the Civil Rights Commission, and I would think it would probably be unwise to give the President of the United States that kind of power because it could start in one State and for one reason or another might be moved to another State which has not measured up as the President would like to see it measure up in one way or another.

It is a fair question to ask what happened. What happened between April 17, when the President voiced these comments at his press conference, and June 19, when his majority leader introduced his Civil Rights Bill? How did a power that was "probably unwise" in April become a power that was "essential" in June?

I submit that the punitive terms of Title VI of this bill threaten gross violation of every principle of due process of law. No provision whatever is made for determining when individuals "participating in or benefitting from" various programs are "discriminated against." The two sentences of this Title define no terms. They propose no judicial inquiry. They leave hundreds of millions of dollars in "federal funds," paid for by all of the people—black, white, Liberal, conservative—at the uncontrolled discretion of the President or someone else who may determine this "discrimination."



Federal personnel would be authorized to supervise loans by banks and building and loan associations, farm financing of all kinds, government subsidies, conservation programs, small business loans and contracts in any activity affected by government loans, insurance, guaranties, or grants. If a federal agency made an administrative finding that discrimination exists, federal support could be withdrawn and the institution or program wrecked.

To permit a President—any President—to suspend such programs on his own unchecked conclusion that certain beneficiaries are "discriminated against" would violate the whole spirit of uniformity that pervades the Constitution. The supreme law of our land provides that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective number." Duties, imposts and excises "shall be uniform throughout the United States." There must be a "uniform rule of naturalization" and "uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies." Many other constitutional provisions attest this same concept of equal treatment among the States.

Only by a fantastic distortion of the congressional power under the 14th and 15th Amendments could this Title VI be justified. Its effect would be to penalize the many for the occasional unlawful conduct of the few. Its potential application would jeopardize the very lives and well-being of thousands of innocent and law-abiding persons, including veterans, blind persons, and disabled persons, in order to bludgeon a handful of State officials into line with a President's desires.

Title VII: Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity

This final substantive section of the bill authorizes the President to establish a "Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity." This permanent agency of the government would be headed by the Vice President; the Secretary of Labor would serve as vice chairman. There would be up to 15 members in all. An executive vice chairman would run the operation. The Commission would be empowered to employ "such other personnel as may be necessary." The bill defines the Commission's duties:

> It shall be the function of the Commission to prevent discrimination against employees or applicants for employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin by Government contractors and sub contractors participating in programs or activities in which direct or indirect financial assistance by the United States Government is provided by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, *or otherwise*. The Commission shall have *such powers to effectuate the purposes of this title as may be conferred upon it by the President*. The President may also confer upon the Commission *such powers as he deems appropriate* to prevent discrimination on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin in Government employment. [Emphasis supplied.]

Again, it seems to me necessary merely to quote the provisions of the bill in order to make their autocratic nature evident to every thoughtful observer. The power here proposed to be conferred upon the President is virtually unlimited. The President may confer upon the Commission "such powers as he deems appropriate." And whether these include the power to impose criminal sanctions, or to seek civil injunctions, or to abrogate contracts awarded under sealed bid, no man can say.

The Administration's bill proposes, in effect, that the Congress abdicate, and turn its legislative powers over to the White House. The powers here demanded are not the powers rightfully exercised by a President in a free country. These are the powers of a despot.

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The Third World War

The Yalta Strategy

JAMES BURNHAM

Perhaps too much is being made of the Treaty of Moscow, by its critics as well as its supporters. The debate obscures a more important fact: except for this treaty, President Kennedy's foreign policy is falling in ruins around him—and around the rest of us too, of course. I say "except for this treaty," because, whether the treaty is good or bad for the nation and the West, it is undoubtedly a success for the President's policy. Everything else, even in Mr. Kennedy's own terms, is a shambles. Consider.

Burnham

The daily headlines proclaim the collapse of the President's policy in Southeast Asia. After the expenditure of $2 billion in South Vietnam and the massive injection of American men and arms, Mr. Kennedy finds himself as usual fighting —the anti-Communists. Could anything be more ludicrous than the present situation in Saigon? It doesn't matter so much who is to blame. Wherever the blame belongs, it is the Communists who benefit.

Could anything be more embarrassing, more amateurish, than the White House handling of the Vietnam blow-up? Nothing was anticipated or prepared for; each morning's policy decision reverses yesterday's. The junior Machiavellis from Harvard are making themselves and their government a laughingstock. Mme. Nhu is nearly as good as Castro at twisting them into knots. If she and Fidel teamed up, they'd take over the country by Michaelmas.

Let us add that what is now happening in South Vietnam follows inescapably from what happened last year in Laos. The Laos troika—hitched up by the same stumbling groom who saddled us with the test-ban treaty—not only gave the Communists a secure route to their comrades fighting in South Vietnam. It also established a political pattern that made it politically impossible to fight Communists effectively in South Vietnam. How could you make a friendly deal with the Communists in Laos—and, moreover, *force* the Laotian anti-Communists to accept it—and do the opposite in the closely related country next door?

On the Southern Tier

The current Vietnamese excitement publicizes the fact that the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization is dead. If it had any life left, it would long ago have functioned in the Vietnam affair, and the Laotian before it. Not only is SEATO dead; two of the signatories—Pakistan and France—are pursuing policies counter to Washington's; and a third—the Philippine Republic—is turning from a pro-Western position toward Sukarno's anti-Western neutralism. Pakistan, another recipient of a couple of billion U.S. dollars and at present in friendly negotiations with Peiping, is the key member, also, of the Central Treaty Organization, which the U.S. backs without having formally joined; and CENTO, like the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, is dead and forgotten.

In the perspective of U.S. policy, SEATO and CENTO were the formal structure of the Asian "southern tier" by which the southern thrust of Communist power was to be contained. They are nothing now but scraps of paper.

Where now is the "Latin American bloc" that for so many years, in spite of internal disputes, stood firmly together, and unanimously with the United States, in relation to the rest of the world? The votes over the past two years in the UN and the OAS reflect the political reality: the Latin American bloc is shattered. Cuba is an outright enemy beachhead, which the Kennedy Administration has proved unable to dislodge, contain or weaken. British Guiana, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Nicaragua are under active siege. A number of the major Latin American nations—among them Mexico and Brazil—have swung from a consistent pro-Western and pro-U.S. course toward neutralism.

And NATO, the structural foundation of Western power and will, is cracking along a dozen seams. The President's plan for a NATO nuclear force was vetoed by all parties. Washington backs revolutionaries against the NATO member, Portugal, while asking Portugal to renew essential accords on strategic bases. France openly condemns the Anglo-Saxon hegemony in NATO, withdraws her forces from the NATO command, blocks the extension of the Common Market and intervenes against the U.S. in Latin America as well as Southeast Asia. West German morale sags as the Moscow negotiations suggest U.S. legitimization of the status quo in Berlin and East Germany.

It is hard to imagine a more dismal scene (though it will be worse). What is not yet understood is the fact that Mr. Kennedy's one success is a primary cause of this huge mound of failures.

Yalta Revisited

The Treaty of Moscow expresses a revival of *the Yalta strategy,* which has never been altogether absent from the U.S. policy amalgam: the strategy that sees a Soviet-American deal (with Britain tagging along) as the key to a workable world order. But the Yalta strategy is incompatible with *the Western strategy,* expressed in NATO, which implies the defense of the West as a whole *against* the threat of the Soviet Union and the Communist enterprise. The Yalta strategy also affects the third major element of the amalgam—*the Third World Strategy*—since the nations of the Third World must adjust themselves differently to a Moscow-Washington collaboration than to a Moscow-Washington conflict.

If Washington deserts the West, why should the West follow Washington? If the U.S. has become the leading neutralist, why should the nations of the Third World hold back from neutralism?

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Poetry and Such

The Folklore of Kinetic Man

HUGH KENNER

The Great American Novel (who coined that phrase?) is, thanks to Dell Publishing Company, the best current forty cents' worth at your nearest drugstore. Specifically: *He Done Her Wrong:/* The Great American Novel / told without words by Milt Gross / introduction by Al Capp. The original copyright date is 1930; the goings-on smack of 1910; the presentation is timeless.

Kenner

Not an audible word, not so much as a Bam or a Zowie, defaces these pages. Impact is measured by the deformation of the body impacted: a jaw, a chair, a lamp-post. Motivation is graphed by limning objects of desire. Character is not lingered on; in strict accord with Aristotle's canon, it is depicted *not for its own sake but for the sake* of the action, and its index, corresponding to Aristotle's masks, is the orientation of feet. The villain's toes turn out with urban nonchalance; the heroine tiptoes in perpendicular purity as though suspended from heaven by a string.

These limits enclose indefatigable comic energy. Gross lavished virtuosity on just two elements: the syntax of kinesis, the vocabulary of voiceless passion. Kinesis (Buster Keaton, Harold Lloyd) was the rhetoric of the 1920s, a decade that did in America with pure motion what the English did about 1600 with language, and the French about 1880 with color.

For those few years, before American eyes, the Newtonian universe flowered like a languid rose, disclosing, before its petals dropped away, all its intricate repertory of action, reaction, equilibrium. Man and machine, in that enchanted truce, met nearly as equals.

You could understand how a thing worked by looking at it: a locomotive, a steam shovel, Calvin Coolidge, hid nothing from the mind; they did not need to be explained as all subsequent technology has required endlessly to be explained. Trajectories Everyman intuited with ease, and the parallelogram of forces irradiated his mind as Love does an angel's.

Outdoing Disney

Milt Gross outdid his successor Disney in the authority with which he could link movement to movement. Our Hero must Stop the Wedding. Swinging from the hook of a handy crane, he crashes the church window feet first. As he hurtles, *deus ex machina,* upon the offenders, the crane's cable, paid out after him, hurtles too; the heavy hook pendulums upward as he thrusts loose; the momentum of the drum feeds in additional cable; and the system hangs poised an instant in ominous slack.

Then as the villain, in tripartite *synchrony,* 1) blasts a fusillade with his ever-handy Colt, 2) clutches his astonished bride by the necklace, and 3) propels her father skyward with a kick, the hook's potential energy is actualized. It swings down to clutch her precisely about the neck and snatch her, bouquet still in hand, out of necklace and wedding-dress at once.

She is not the heroine but an ugly woman with a Pekinese and so merits no sympathy: only the ritual fury of a frieze of frantic cops, as the crane, suddenly energized, whisks her off airborne toward an ideal vanishing point. This takes just four drawings out of some 350.

As for the way of articulating voiceless passion, Gross got it straight from vaudeville, which got it from melodrama, which got it from the rhetoricians' handbooks of the eighteenth century, which got it from (perhaps) the *commedia dell'arte.* The Method and the talkies killed it; Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible* was its ceremonious farewell. Knees bend, eyes roll up, heads slump, chests expand sixfold, to register every nuance of rage, calm, lust, defeat, servility, purpose.

Two dozen postage-stamp vignettes run, by minuscule alterations of posture, the gamut from lordly expansiveness through annoyance, violence, fanaticism and madness as a fortune is squandered, clothes and belongings pawned, wife and bairns abandoned to eviction, by a man in combat with a recalcitrant gum machine. Monte Carlo has not seen the like. In the last drawing, torso thrown back, he tears his hair, eyes clamped into slits. The machine rests, battered, sated, a mute nemesis: for man is under Fortuna.

A still more intricate cadenza, 42 pictures long, takes our heroine stage by stage into the very penetralia of pillared and mahoganied Business, repeating over and over the four tearful gestures of Economic Despair, and teaching hierarchies of subordinates to relay these gestures to their hierarchies of superiors. She is Applying for Work; and receptionists, chairmen, vice-presidents carry her cause upward, writhing, imploring, evoking with a horizontal hand the stature of her starving children.

For a whole day and into the night this Stanislavskyite St. Vitus Dance infects the corporation; at last comes the written decision, in a sealed envelope, from the Very Top; it reads simply, "O.K." Joy is on every face; virtue and desert have triumphed. So we find her at the end of her long quest, in the light of dawn, fully employed, at the foot of pillars scrubbing a marble floor.

It has long been understood that the Great American Novel, could it exist, would have something to do with Horatio Alger. Nathanael West among others simply travestied Alger (in *A Cool Million*) with sulphuric wit. But Alger was himself a pale travesty; he was a hack, and no hack ever presides over the initial metamorphosis of myth into language. That is done either by the folk, who keep all myths, or by genius. The Alger myth (so miscalled) has stayed unverbalized; except in Scott Fitzgerald, the American literary tradition has never courted it.

Only the popular stage, the silent film, the comic strip, evolved the ap-

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propriate vocabulary and syntax; and only Milt Gross (1895-1953) got the whole ramshackle tradition of despair and triumph between covers. His invention never flags; he is unfailingly funny. Yes, the ending is happy. Yes, the buzz-saw is stopped in the nick of time. And yes, the hero possesses that crucial birthmark. His pants are cut, by a tailcoated flunky, for the better examining of it, and his face at this moment is a study in coy complaisance. As for the villain, he is trapped into *six* simultaneous shotgun marriages, and shipped to Turkey, where harems are not inconceivable, and where the six wives still clutch each one her rolling-pin.

More Reflections on Gaullist France

How it feels to live in a France whose people voted for one-man rule, and how a Gaullist France may affect future U.S.-Europe relations

GEORGE M. PEPPER

Paris

The people? It's an imprecise term, that. What constitutes it? Twenty, a hundred, a thousand, a class, the majority consensus of a population? Some prefer not to employ the term; they say, "the masses." General de Gaulle says, The People. Perhaps he knows. It is, in the end, these people who make a dictatorship.

Hitler—why do we forget it?—took power from a wholly free, popular, democratic election, even while affirming his determination to abolish German democracy if elected. Louis-Napoleon, first man of the twentieth century, only president of France's Second Republic, was made Emperor and dictator by the will of the French people in the sole popular election, until now, of a chief-of-state in the country's history. Some, able to penetrate his designs and opposed to them, acceded to his domination all the same, rather than commit an insurrectionary act of disobedience against what was, patently, a majority decision. As for the modern Russians: Soviet dictatorship may not enjoy general support, but were it threatened, one wonders how many Russians would fail to defend it. About as many, one supposes, as there were Mississippi National Guardsmen prepared to disobey federal orders in Oxford.

The truth is, although he may later regret it, the individual citizen sometimes is guilty, as one of the people, of helping to establish totalitarian governments.

Last October 28, the French people once more ratified the present dictatorship and made possible ("made likely," some might say) the imposition of other future, perhaps more brutal, tyranny.

The General-President made his continuation in office contingent on approval by the referendum; he would, he said, have quit his functions had the balloting results been unsatisfactory; probably he would have. He had twice before resigned his responsibilities to an ungrateful nation.

Following the October referendum, elections for the Chamber of Deputies, held in a series of two campaigns,

took place. They resulted, we are told, in a parliamentary majority for the first time in French republican history. This is a parliamentary majority that consists of at least ten identifiable factions united in nothing, except their universally proclaimed allegiance to the leader; lacking in even that indispensable quality of modern practical politics, an ideological consensus ("We have no readymade doctrine," Mussolini said). The elections did result in the country's sole unfragmented party increasing its representation in the Chamber of Deputies to 41 seats. I speak here of the Communists.

Not 'Really' Communist

There are those who take arid comfort in reminding themselves that many who vote Communist in European elections are not . . . well, "they are not *really* Communists"; they are really rather vague socialists, well-meaning, unhappy with the conditions of persons perhaps like themselves, who have not yet enjoyed all the benefits of the European Economic Miracle, and desirous of their children's greater welfare; they vote Communist because the Party's candidates present themselves so persuasively as the advocates of workers' rights.

I recall a conversation I had last year in November, before the elections, with the garçon of a familiar Left Bank café. Though nobody might have guessed it from the English language press, he had, as had nearly everybody, foreseen the results of the balloting. "If there are to be only two parties," he said, "then I shall be a Red, not because I believe in Communism, you understand. But I am a worker." The chiefs of the Communist Party, one dares say, will not care what his reasons are for supporting them.

General de Gaulle and some of his associates seem to have taken cognizance of the electoral threat posed

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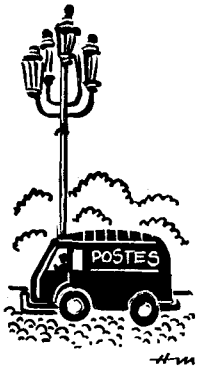
by the opposition party. The regime is moving to neutralize it. Writing recently in a Danish newspaper, Christian Fouchet, often mentioned as a likely successor to Georges Pompidou as premier, says, "In the social area we [the UNR] can go as far as the Communists propose." Indeed, the difference between the Communists and the UNR is that "we are not tied to a foreign power." The creation of a new, special treason tribunal, the third such group set up by this regime to try cases of "subversive activity against the authority of the state," is some proof, doubtless, of the justice of Minister Fouchet's comparison.

Voice of Anti-Gaullism

Some of the international press has publicized the creation of the tribunal. The bill authorizing it, originated in the Chamber, met independent and anti-Gaullist resistance in the Senate. The Senate, impotent as a legislative body under the Republic's constitution, its president relentlessly, personally attacked by de Gaulle for having opposed the October referendum, functioning now amid first rumors that de Gaulle may attempt to abolish it altogether, remains, probably, the single branch of government where significant anti-Gaullist sentiment exists and finds a voice; the senators succeeded in moderating certain of the bill's more virulently repressive measures. The number of days, for instance, a suspected political subversive may be held without charge will be ten, not fifteen as the deputies wanted. During the seven years of the Algerian War, it was five. And ten days, what are they? They are two hundred and forty solitary hours without a lawyer, without having seen a judge; only one's police interrogators.



Were his leftist or "extreme" rightist opponents to wrest power from him in the coming years, they would probably themselves be compelled, Charles de Gaulle's apologists point out, to resort to techniques of intimidation and control. It's possible; even probable. Certainly a Communist-dominated Left would. A Right in disarray, often allied for the most mundane reasons to an "unreconstructed" fascism, more than likely would also. But short of an overt Communist coup (still unlikely, one hopes), the Americans and British—or the "Anglo-Saxons," in the General's own phraseology—ought to find relations with either camp amicable were one or the other to replace Gaullism; because now the two groups, for the first time in twenty years, have taken similar positions in the face of a large issue that touches the welfare of both.

To be sure, neither political body approves the Gaullist Europe; they each desire something more than a *Europe des patries*. The French conservative has become a European patriot and, occidental to his core, recognizes in the United States the ultimate bastion of the West's defense in event of world war, whatever the deplorable indecisiveness of the present American Administration. The leftist, for leftist reasons, supports the idea of an enlarged Europe, or an "Atlanticized" West, because, he hopes, that will be one more step, maybe a giant stride, toward the global government more amenable to his unhappy manipulations. He may not be incorrect, for United Europe, if that's what we have, is new enough to us that we shall not know for some time how it will evolve.

Gaullist, anti-American Europe, would not now pose a threat to Western unity, it is often suggested, had successive United States Governments not failed to articulate a staunch pro-Allied policy. "He is not exactly a leftist," one of the General's adherents will tell an American conservative, with an ironic smile. Well, he is not. Senator Fulbright thinks he is Napoleonic. He most resembles Napoleon in the adroitness with which he exploits fresh situations. Often without a plan, he moves with his dictatorial prerogatives, in an aura of aloofness and mystery, carefully nurtured, toward the solution of problems neither he nor anyone else foresaw. "What a man," we say afterwards, "he had planned it all the while." Perhaps with careful diplomacy he might be compelled to find some solutions less inimical to the Atlantic Alliance.

But that is meager succor to the American living in France today, when the government radio tells its listeners, "The Europe America wants is the old Europe of poverty and disorder." It seems almost that one should prepare for flight to London.

Below the Stairs

W. H. VON DREELE

There was once a pot which hung on a kitchen wall in New York City. It was a most self-righteous pot, and never tired of telling the other utensils that it cooked "all the food that's fit to eat." For this, it charged ten cents a helping.

The pot detested kettles. It called them prejudiced and no-nothing and, in moments of extreme pique, black. "I accuse all kettles of being black!" it would shriek, swinging wildly on its hook above the oven. These displays always frightened the rest of the kitchenware, for the pot had a great reputation. "Who can oppose the New York Pot?" they would wail. "It carries too much weight upstairs."

But the kettles were not impressed. When the pot called them Anti-Utensil, they just said "Pooh," and "So's your Aunt Minnie." Eventually, however, the pot began to get under their aluminum. One day they pulled it off its hook and shoved it in front of the oval mirror on the pantry door. "What color's that?" they demanded, pointing to the pot's smoky black bottom. "White?" To which the pot replied:

"The most important difference between pots and kettles in this respect is that no pot in a position of public or private leadership seriously believes it."

MORAL: Crazy mixed-up pots should not run newspapers.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Toward Labor Monopoly in Teaching?

Can the affiliates of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers close the public schools at will? Well, thinking so, some state and city teachers' associations are beginning to talk like teamsters' associations.

Kirk

In Utah, the state affiliate of the NEA, backed by the National Association of Classroom Teachers (an NEA subordinate body) has been threatening to declare "sanctions" against all state school boards, unless the Utah legislature grants all the extravagant demands of the people who profess to represent the teachers. (To do so would be to bankrupt the Utah treasury.) At present the threat to "invoke sanctions"—that is, to refuse to sign contracts, and in effect to strike—has been averted for a little while, by the appointment of a state investigating committee and mediating commission.

At the annual convention of the National Education Association, meeting in Detroit last July, the leaders of the NEA itself drew back from endorsing "sanctions" in Utah, though a very strong minority was hot for action against state and local school authorities. The American Federation of Teachers has no such scruples, in theory—though in practice the AFT and its affiliates often have been the most timid of unions.

Representative John A. Ashbrook, the able young Republican congressman from Ohio, analyzed the NEA push for power—extending over the past several years—in a House speech last June 25. He suggested that the NEA bureaucracy even contemplates "worldwide sanctions," to judge from an attempt, this February, of the NEA's Washington headquarters to dissuade teachers from accepting posts for overseas teaching with the Department of Defense—until the military establishment should agree to take its educational orders from the NEA.

But, intoxicated with their own momentary power, the teachers' association officials may succeed only in provoking retaliatory regulation by governmental authorities. It is conceivable that they might sanction and strike themselves out of effective existence. Recognizing the growing possibility of regulation, indeed, the NEA leaders have been eager to establish their monopoly in every state before countermeasures are devised by state legislatures and school boards.

In New York, where a teachers' strike was called off less than twelve hours before the official opening of the school year, the law already is fully adequate to ensure the breaking of a teachers' strike—if the authorities employ it with rigor. The Condon-Wadlin Act, applicable to all governmental employees, provides that strikers may be dismissed; if subsequently rehired, teachers may forfeit all raises for six months, be put on probation for a year, lose tenure, and be docked two days' additional pay for every day they were on strike. UFT (United Federation of Teachers) officials who defy court injunctions may be jailed and fined. And the state commissioner of education has authority—harshest penalty of all—to revoke the licenses of teachers who strike.

It is most improbable that the teachers would hold out long against such measures—particularly when a great many of them, and perhaps most, feel no enthusiasm for a strike to begin with, and often dislike the UFT officials. The UFT, in fine, gambles upon a failure of nerve on the part of school authorities.

In Utah, or in any other state, similar legislation is almost certain to be adopted if teachers' associations take to striking. And one can well conceive of circumstances in which the affiliates of either NEA or AFT might undo themselves altogether. If repeatedly provoked, state and local school authorities might make it a condition of teachers' employment that teachers *not* belong to a state or national union or "professional body" with claims to the right of strikes and sanctions. What would happen to dues, and educational bureaucrats' salaries, then?

Improvement Doubtful

It must be doubted, moreover, whether the NEA and the AFT really would improve either the standards of public schools or the conditions of teachers, given monopolistic power through the strike weapon. Their interest, so far, has been almost exclusively in bigger salaries. Yet what our schools need is not more prosperous teachers *per se,* but better teachers; and it is not primarily inadequate pay which causes the recruitment difficulties touched upon in James Koerner's recent *Miseducation of American Teachers,* and Martin Mayer's *The Schools.*

Many teachers of my acquaintance are substantially satisfied with their pay. They complain, instead, of an inordinate burden of busywork and paperwork, enforced by an administrative bureaucracy; a reluctance of many superintendents and principals to sanction tolerable discipline in the student body; a lack of reward for ability in the profession, as distinguished from across-the-board raises for all teachers, regardless of competence.

Where we have seen improvement of school standards here and there, across the country, in recent years, the gain has not been the work of the teachers' associations. On the contrary, local school boards and awakened parents have been the force behind reform. To make the educationist bureaucracy of the teachers' associations the arbiter of school policies would set back the cause of real raising of standards. In Utah and New York, the zealots for strike and sanction may have bitten off more than they can chew. For the constituted political authorities of states and localities are raising their eyebrows.

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Behind the Moscow Treaty

J. H. MORSE

The title of Mr. Voss' book tells the story—a story which the 537 pages of text develop in meticulous and minute detail. The research behind the story is clearly monumental. It must have involved reading or scanning every scrap of material bearing upon the issue of nuclear testing.

Nuclear Ambush has two great virtues. First, it selects and arranges in chronological order pertinent events and facts, screening out the unrelated considerations which so often obscure crucial trends and developments. Second, it is an extremely valuable reference work for writers or speakers who need to broaden their own understanding of the problem of nuclear testing. Even those individuals who have had some part in the events which the book describes will find in it much that they did not know. Nowhere else has such a wealth of material on the subject been assembled in a single volume.

As an active, gifted, and well-known Washington newsman who covered the State Department in particular and other government agencies as necessary, Mr. Voss has had a front-row seat from which to judge development of the test-ban issue during its crucial years. As his factual chronology develops, any reader should be able to understand his conclusions, even though he may not agree with them fully.

For those already convinced by either personal instinct or experience that the nuclear-testing issue has indeed provided a nuclear ambush for this country, the book will confirm their opinion in alarming fashion. For such readers its virtue lies in that confirmation and in the supporting evidence it affords them in their efforts to persuade those who do not agree or have formed no opinion. For those who do not believe that worldwide pressures for nuclear test cessation have forced unwise decisions by this country, it should provide sobering stimulus to take another and more detailed look at pertinent facts uncluttered by other important but extraneous material. For those who retain an "open mind" on the subject of nuclear testing, it may well be decisive in convincing them that we should move very cautiously in the direction advocated by the Soviets and large bodies of "world opinion." It is a pity that all senators called upon to ratify or reject the Moscow Treaty could not read this book before their vote.

Nuclear Ambush: The Test-Ban Trap, by Earl H. Voss. Regnery, $6.50

SEVERAL of the reference sections are particularly useful. At the very beginning is a twenty-page treatment of the biological effects of radiation, in which the author presents in layman's language the conclusions of experts about the relative effects of nuclear fall-out from tests. These experts are in general those who are or have been responsible for advising the government in such matters; like everyone else, they are also subject to whatever testing fall-out the major powers may decide to create. The comparisons between such hazards and others which mankind accepts, through choice or necessity, as a matter of course and without protest, may startle those readers who have not studied the subject or who may have taken for granted the more dramatic estimates of the professional and amateur alarmists, so plentiful in this field.

Appendix I is the full report of the 1958 Geneva Experts Conference where scientists from both the Soviet bloc and the West concluded in six weeks of deliberation that it is possible to detect all significant nuclear tests by scientific means, given an inspection system and unrestricted access for investigation of suspicious events. Appendix II is the draft treaty to discontinue all nuclear tests. This is the draft proposed for negotiations up to the time the Soviets made their sudden switch to advocate a treaty banning all but underground testing.

Early in the book the author establishes the background of test-ban movements and negotiations prior to 1955. He then devotes an entire chapter to each of the crucial years from 1955 through 1958, years in which the emotional pressures for a test ban built up. Following his chapters of yearly history, he describes the enthusiasm which followed the 1958 Conference of Experts in Geneva; the results of the HARDTACK test series which followed immediately after the Conference and demonstrated that some of its most important conclusions were wrong; the successive concessions by the United States in trying to get a treaty; and the endless negotiations which this effort has involved, including those of the Kennedy years. He brings the story up to March 1963, and his book emerged from the presses just as the Soviets decided to sign at last.

In his concluding appraisal Mr. Voss makes these points: (1) we seem to show a compulsive urge to trust

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the Soviets on the test-ban issue, yet distrust them to the extent of a fifty-billion-dollar defense budget each year; (2) our negotiations on the test-ban issue show signs of timidity; (3) we seem to be overly impressed by public opinion; (4) hope of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons is illusory and efforts to do so are self-defeating; (5) the United States is probably behind the Soviets in nuclear weaponry because of self-imposed delays and obstacles in weapon development; (6) whenever we stop testing without inspection we encourage those who maintain that no inspection is necessary.

His summary lessons are sound:

1. Inspection programs and methods should be worked out and tested before this country negotiates.

2. Clear national strategy objectives should be established before negotiations on disarmament.

3. Procrastination in making hard decisions is self-defeating.

Mr. Voss believes that the Soviet success in tying up the U.S. testing program with shabbily camouflaged techniques should provide a sobering warning; and that if we let it happen again, we will have no one but ourselves to blame if Communism does become the wave of the future.

'A Wind at Their Backs'

MYRNA BAIN

EVER SINCE the Montgomery bus boycott, the public image of the American Negro has been slowly but definitively transformed. Through a progressively militant series of street demonstrations, thousands of Negro men, women and children have begun, in the words of Harold R. Isaacs, "to feel the new sensation of having the wind at *their* backs."

The New World of Negro Americans, by Harold R. Isaacs. John Day, $7.50

In his latest book, *The New World of Negro Americans*, Mr. Isaacs assiduously labors to explain the *private* reasons for this new upsurge in militancy among the twenty million Negroes in America. He has interviewed, as he states in his introduction, more than one hundred prominent Negro writers, teachers, social scientists and government officials. Using a sort of "See-It-Now" compendium of opinion, Mr. Isaacs *literally* narrates verbatim the extended interviews he had with 55 persons in this group. Not since the July 29 *Newsweek* has the country been given such a thoroughly detailed version of what makes "The Negro" run.

Starting with the international scene, crossing down to the South, then over to Africa and finally back to America, we are given a Krafft-Ebing of the *mystique* behind the Negro *Gemeinschaft*. All the "good" Negroes (*i.e.*, non-Uncle Toms) are questioned and analyzed. When did you first hear about Africa, Miss Hansberry? Do you think the Negroes are moving too fast, Mr. Baldwin? What are the socio-economic effects of segregation, Mr. Clark? Etc., etc., etc. If the first section of the book reads like a freshman course in history, political science and sociology, keep on reading; Mr. Isaacs believes in the put-'em-to-sleep, *then* wake-'em-up school.

IF YOU LAST until Section II, the book picks up considerably, if not in depth at least in surface coverage. If you've always wanted to know how a Negro boy felt as he watched Stepin Fetchit playing an African, at least three of the Negroes interviewed will tell you. If Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie are still unfinished chapters in your American and international history—read about the Negro reaction to both. History marches on, and if you were too young to have seen the March of Time newsreels, they are now in book form.

Any author whose past books have ebulliently carried such titles as *Scratches On Our Minds* and *Two-Thirds of the World*, cannot, I suppose, be expected to provide much more than quick, light jabs at any subject. And "The Negro problem" —as we have been told hundreds of times—involves "eyeball-to-eyeball" confrontations of infinite and morally crushing depths. But crossing off, for a moment, Mr. Isaacs' love for fatuous titles and broken-down "white no more" clichés, he does manage to provide a few bright spots in this otherwise turgid book. His chapters on William E. Burghardt DuBois, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin (yes, again) and Lorraine Hansberry, are well worth the quilt of quotes, footnotes, and author's asides that cover the first 190 pages of his book. In fact, Mr. Isaacs would have performed a far greater service if he had written a smaller book (minus the scratches and fractions) on just these six people. Somehow in this section his quotations and personal comments begin to break through some of the crust surrounding who the Negro is, what he has achieved, and where he would like to go from here.

All of these people are writers. They range in age from thirty-three to ninety-five. They come from Massachusetts, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Chicago, New York and Kansas. DuBois, who was the oldest, included in his life and works a cross-section of the thoughts, family background, education and political affiliation of the others. It was DuBois who launched the first full-scale attack against Booker T. Washington; he started the first militant Negro organization, which he later merged with the NAACP; he called the first Pan-African Conference, and finally in the early sixties publicly declared himself a Communist, which he remained until the day of his death. Whether it was DuBois the romantic racist or DuBois the Marxist, or DuBois the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the President of the United States to the inauguration of the President of Liberia, he was also the forerunner of Hughes' *The Negro Speaks of Rivers*, Wright's *Native Son*, Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* and, if not Lorraine Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun*, at least her current political affiliation.

In short, it's all been said before: Africa, the South, and how we should react to both. For Mr. Isaacs completely misses the fact that the militancy of Martin Luther King is less Gandhi than Georges Sorel; less

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As a friend of two-thirds of the world, Mr. Isaacs would not want to mention this fact, even if he had noticed it. But I doubt that he even noticed the Jacobin aspects underlying the current activity within the Negro community. It is easier for him to believe that "we must be 'democrats' and 'Christian' Christians or die," than in Henry James' observation that "being an American is a complex fate."

Latin America in Eruption

NATHANIEL WEYL

We are on the verge of decisive battles in Latin America to determine whether that continent-and-a-half shall remain within the orbit of Western civilization or be surrendered to Soviet Communism. Of the books under review, only those by Dubois and Phillips sound the needed alarm.

Operation America is an admirable, detailed and highly factual survey of the coordinated Communist conspiracy against the Latin American republics. This work is accurate, up-to-date, fast-moving, highly perceptive, and grounded on a quarter of a century of reporting on Latin American affairs. It is an indispensable handbook for Americans who are concerned about the tidal wave of Communist aggression in our hemisphere and who wish to have a realistic understanding of the processes at work country by country. Dubois has performed a great service and I hope that his book will be widely read.

Dubois sees Brazil as on the verge of a quiet Communist seizure of power by stages and from on top. Developments of a similar nature may impend in the Dominican Republic under Bosch, in Chile in the event of a Revolutionary Action Front electoral victory in 1964, and possibly in Argentina. If the Communists take power in Venezuela, they will probably have to fight for it.

Operation America, by Jules Dubois. Walker, $6.50

The Cuban Dilemma, by R. Hart Phillips. Obolensky, $6.50

The Wine Is Bitter, by Milton S. Eisenhower. Doubleday, $4.95

Mexico and the Americans, by Daniel James. Praeger, $7.50

The Communist drive in Latin America is not the result of sluggish economic growth or social reform (which advanced impressively in the 1950s). It is primarily a conspiracy (organized in Moscow and Havana) of the university students, professionals and intellectuals, which thrives on the audacity of Castro and the gutlessness of an American foreign policy which refuses to reject insults, defend past actions, protest arbitrary confiscations or champion free enterprise. Dubois makes it clear that the United States shrank in Latin eyes after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, after its doubletalk about Castro, and after Kennedy's ignominious withdrawal from the Cuban rocket crisis. The Hispanic *ethos* is masculine; what may seem magnanimity to some American intellectuals is viewed as decadence and contemptible irresolution by the Latin American mind.

Ruby Hart Phillips, the resident correspondent of the *New York Times* in Havana for 25 years, describes how Castro communized Cuba. *The Cuban Dilemma* contains no major surprises, but it is a valuable description of the processes by which freedom was extinguished and totalitarian despotism imposed in Cuba. Increasingly vile attacks and insolent aggressions against the United States were paralleled by inept, timid and cowardly *démarches* by the State Department, futile efforts at appeasement and an almost total misconception of the processes at work in Cuba. Mrs. Phillips also quotes the apologia for the Castro regime of her *Times* colleague, Herbert L. Matthews. These passages will make many American readers ashamed, not of their country, but of their government and perhaps also of their press.

The Wine Is Bitter, by Milton S. Eisenhower, is a mixture of narrative,

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commentary and moralizing on our Latin American policy by the man who served as one of its main architects as long as his elder brother was President of the United States. It combines epigrams with platitudes, realism with rhetoric, practical constructive proposals with myth-making in the orthodox Liberal vein.

Dr. Eisenhower made valuable proposals in such specialized fields as inter-American credit, commodity price stabilization and educational exchange. Strongly hostile to Communism and appalled by the misery of the Latin American scene, he made the cardinal error of assuming the first was caused by the second. The United States may have a moral obligation to assist the social development of the underdeveloped areas of the earth, but this is more a corollary of empire than of the Cold War.

Unfortunately, Dr. Eisenhower is reticent about his role in shaping the disastrous State Department policy toward Cuba which brought Castro to power. He makes the foolish suggestion that the rug should have been pulled out from under the Batista regime earlier, talks about the "betrayed" Castro revolution and states "facts" about Cuba (for example, p. 265) that are in fact falsehoods. Despite extensive tours of Latin America in 1953 and 1958, Milton Eisenhower was blind to the rising tide of Communist subversion (pp. 201, 223). Since his analysis of the situation was wrong, his major policy recommendations were not particularly helpful. A man of good will, Dr. Eisenhower could not provide the analytic ability which the situation required.

MEXICO AND THE AMERICANS attempts to cover the entire sweep of Mexican history from Independence to the present in a single volume. Writing from a Social Democratic and strongly anti-Communist stance, James endorses the Mexican Revolution wholeheartedly as a harbinger of national consciousness and social reform. Yet he admits that the farm cooperatives (*ejidos*) have proved economically inefficient and that by 1940, when Cárdenas left the Presidency, "the income of the average Mexican had not increased since the turn of the century."

The second half of James' book, dealing with the Cárdenas Administration and its successors, contains invaluable material on economic, social and political developments in modern Mexico. James tends to discuss the current (López Mateos) administration more as a champion than an analytic outsider. Since he concentrates upon the insignificant Mexican Communist Party and ignores the National Liberation Movement under ex-President Cárdenas, he ignores both the close links between the López Mateos administration and the Communist conspiracy and the danger that the latter may move toward power through the official party (PRI) in 1964.

Some of James' historic judgments are simplified and untenable. Thus, he writes that the Polk Administration (1845-49) was "incapable of representing the best interests of the American people" because it took Texas and California! Elsewhere, he writes of "the dark prospect of U.S. hegemony over much of Mexico. . . ." (p. 86.) Dark for whom? For the Mexican people, who had their glorious revolution in 1910 and thereafter remained frozen in unalleviated misery and hunger until 1940? And how does it happen that after their country's military defeat, leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party begged General Winfield Scott to get the U.S. to annex the whole nation, urging that otherwise Mexico would never know order and freedom?

Where even such excellent sources as Dulles totally ignore the Mexican Communist movement, James gives a succinct treatment which, on the whole, is excellent. Yet he is able to write that, "toward the end of 1918," the Soviets sent the Hindu Communist M. N. Roy into Mexico "for the purpose of infiltrating and capturing the Mexican Socialist Party." Actually, Roy went to Mexico in 1917 to escape U.S. prosecution as a German secret agent. Later, becoming a Communist, he misappropriated funds given him by the German Imperial General Staff and used them to finance Communist activity. Despite these and a few other errors, James has written a valuable book, rich in both facts and insights, which will contribute substantially to the understanding of contemporary Mexico.

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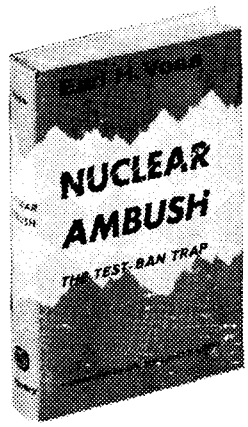

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—An advertisement in *Seventeen*

WHEN I WAS growing up in Sacramento, I was, at sixteen, a more or less captive audience to a class, taught at C. K. McClatchy Senior High School during the hour allotted for Physical Education, known popularly as Sex. (Sex Education came the year after Drivers' Education; first things first in California. Sex education could be avoided, as I recall, if one's parents were willing to make a scene about it, but Drivers' Education was compulsory.) My most vivid memory of Sex Education concerns a pretty little blonde girl, a Nice Girl, as opposed to what boys then called a Good Girl. (Good Girls preferred the third-run Starlite Drive-In Theater to the first-run downtown Senator Theater, even if it was raining.) Patti (for such was her name) was explaining to us one afternoon why it was unwise to go around kissing boys "indiscriminately." It was, she reasoned, "throwing away your capital." No good man would want you once you had been so sullied, "any more than *you* would want"—and there Patti paused, building momentum for what was to be her spellbinding *quod erat demonstrandum*—"somebody to bring you an exquisite white orchid in a plastic box and have that plastic box the least bit torn or dirty."

Although pacified some by the novel notion of myself as an exquisite white orchid, I had never before thought of myself as a product in need of smart merchandising, rather resented Patti's assumption that hermetic packaging was the only possible Unique Selling Proposition, and at any rate failed to see how anyone could go around kissing the boys we knew in Sacramento "discriminately," which seemed to be all right with her ("when you know he's really your guy"); I rather thought that if you were indiscriminate enough to kiss any one of them you might as well kiss them all.

But the difference between Patti and me ran deeper than any value judgments about high school boys. Marriage seemed to me a risk venture, shadowy with shoals, uncharted sinkholes, possibilities for salvation and possibilities for insomnia, in-sickness-and-in-health-and-you-had-better-count-on-the-sickness. Marriage seemed to Patti a package deal, easily negotiated by the trained consumer; a contract not different in kind from that existing between her and the Joseph Magnin Company every time they accepted her mother's Charga-Plate and wrapped up a refill of Revlon "Paint the Town Pink" lipstick. (Patti was not, I scarcely need add, a "Fire and Ice" girl.) In the words of a china advertisement which appears in magazines directed to the very young, marriage for her was a matter of *You Get the License, I'll Get the Lenox.*

I HAVE thought about Patti a good deal lately, first when the *New York Herald Tribune* printed the results of a *Scholastic* magazine survey of 8,000 high school students, both boys and girls; again when I saw some results from a Gallup poll of unmarried girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. In each case, the point was more or less to determine Young America's Expectations.

Those Expectations are not, as it works out, what might be called Great. *Scholastic* asked its readers to check the qualities most wanted, on a list of twenty-five, "In a Date" and "In a Mate." What boys now prize above rubies In a Mate, it seems, is

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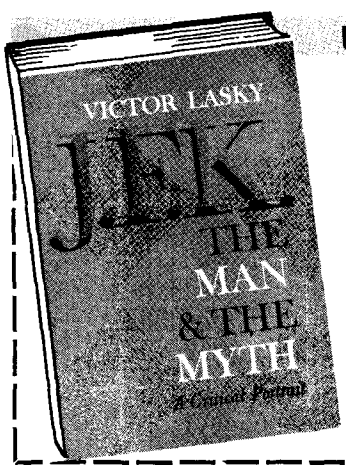
Victor Lasky has been a star reporter, script writer, public relations counsellor, editorial and feature writer for 25 years. Co-author of the bestselling *Seeds of Treason,* the story of the Hiss-Chambers case, Mr. Lasky has contributed to such leading magazines as *Saturday Review, National Review, Reader's Digest, The New Leader, Human Events* and *Parade.* He writes a nationally syndicated column for the North American Newspaper Alliance.



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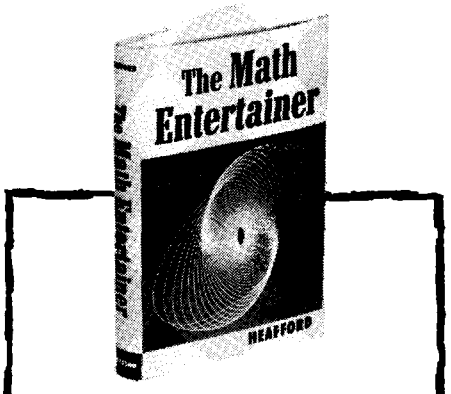

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"Pleasing Personality," followed in close order by "Attractiveness" and "Neatness." "Intelligence" and "Good Homemaker" wind up in a heat for fourth slot, and "Shares Religious Belief" slips into fifth. The *Scholastic* boys would any day take girls who were "Considerate" (sixth place), "Sincere" (seventh place), or "Polite" (eighth place) over girls possessed of a "Sense of Humor," which was rated desirable in a wife by only 22 per cent of the boys, although 38 per cent allowed as how it was A-OK in a date. "High Moral Standards" ran a poor tenth, but I decided to write that off to a possible tendency on the part of the boys to read it in its strictest, or Nothing-Below-the-Waist-Please-Stop-It, sense.

Among the qualities most desired in potential husbands, "Shares Religious Belief" received the highest number of female votes, followed by that inexorable "Pleasing Personality," then by "Considerate" and "Sincere." Thirty-two per cent of the girls marked "Ambition" and 31 per cent "Intelligence," rating those potentially anti-social tendencies respectively fifth and sixth; another—or possibly the same—31 per cent liked the idea of "High Moral Standards" in a husband.

In seventh place was "Neatness," followed by "Common Sense" (curiously enough a quality the boys would eschew altogether in a mate, but approve—or anyway 21 per cent of them would—in a date) and "Politeness." In the last money was that suspicious "Sense of Humor" (24 per cent). No lifetime interest whatsoever was exhibited in "Attractiveness" and "Interesting Talker," two items which did turn up—albeit low—on the date list.

The Gallup poll was a good deal more open-end. Rather general questions were asked and detailed answers obtained; what first reminded me of Patti (although I much prefer her simile) was this answer to a question about virginity: "Some people give the argument, *Would you buy a pair of shoes without trying them on.* My answer to this is, *Would you buy a pair of used shoes and pay full price!*"

The most unnerving responses of this poll, however, were provoked not by the Double Standard, not by Birth Control, but by an inquiry into "Your Dream House." At random: "I'd like a built-in oven and range, counters 34 inches high with Formica on them." . . . "A split-level brick with four bedrooms with French Provincial cherrywood furniture." . . . "A daylight basement to be used for both projects and parties." . . . "Would like to live in a growing suburban

community with a progressive school system and facilities for cultural growth and entertainment, adequate shopping district, tree-lined streets, and playgrounds for younger children."

Just sweetie and me, and baby makes three, near an adequate shopping district. It begins to look as if Patti, and not I (I think I wanted Howard Hughes at the time), had her finger on the pulse of Young America's Expectations, and if she did, all those savants—from Denis de Rougemont to Dr. Joyce Brothers—who go around deploring the effects of Romantic Love on America begin to look pretty dated, just the slightest bit Unrealistic in all their talk about Unrealistic Expectations. If an American girl can't realistically expect counters 34 inches high with Formica on them, somebody is fooling somebody in these United States.

ASKED once what character in fiction most typified American women, Mary McCarthy named Madame Bovary. Madame Bovary may typify the American women Mary McCarthy knows; she may even typify the American women you and I know. Patti, however, has the figures on her side, and "Pleasing Personality," "Daylight Basement," and "Sensible Driver" are simply not the stuff of which Emma Bovary's dreams were made. What afflicted her, of course, was the notion of Romantic Love, the logical end of which was the love-death; what afflicts us is not Romantic Love at all but Marketable Love, the logical end of which is either satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the product. Order white orchids and have them arrive wilted, you have a strong case against paying the florist; buy a pair of shoes and find on third wearing that a heel has broken,

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you notify I. Miller and receive a refund. Find that your husband's Personality does not always Please, and you have a clear breach of contract — as unencumbered by Romantic Love as you were unhampered by any tangled emotional attachments to those particular orchids, that particular pair of shoes.

Pleasing Personality, Sincerity, Neatness: they are eminently marketable, the traits one wants to show Personnel Directors, the very qualities one can have for one's own typing pool by calling in some Kelly Girls. One begins to wish for an Emma Bovary, for an Anna Karenina, for even a poor Carol Kennicott; Patti and her friends would get to Mayerling and start polishing the flatware, hinting for a Sweetheart Chest. (Candlelight suppers, as I recall, really flipped that Rudolph.)

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Sense of Reality, by Graham Greene (Viking, $3.50). A collection of four new stories. Greene works diligently in each, describing the graveyards of man's compulsive affair with illusion, exposing the raw edges of reality in varieties of mental and spiritual isolation. An aging Catholic novelist accepts the fearful paradox of spent belief as the ultimate proof of faith; a young boy of the future realizes his utter divorce from civilized tradition as he views the wrecked hulk of an ocean liner, rotting remnant of a world before atomic holocaust; a doctor and his patient face the alienation that awaits the timid, the desperate, the compromising; a world traveler discovers the scenes of his youth ruined and unfamiliar, its experiences vague beyond recall. One and all, they are pilgrims to some final shrine of salvation; they are pitifully open and purposive in their search; they are close to death and anxious to shed everything except their obsessions with their wounds; they are doomed beyond reprieve. Greene has now carried his theme to a further border of despair, and he promises the defeat of his characters with an irksome assiduousness. His technique remains sure. The minor characters and backgrounds (a disinterested surgeon, a coldly domineering mother, an isolated country house) are vivid and true; here, surpassing the logic of his vision, they are made to last.

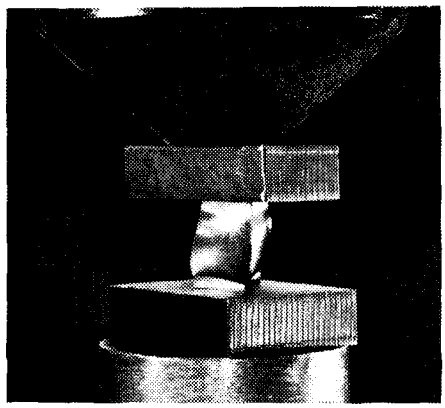
R. BEMIS

The Necessary Conditions for a Free Society, ed. by Felix Morley (Van Nostrand, $5.95). From a five-day conference held at Princeton in mid-1961, these papers survive, one each from the members, as edited with an introduction by symposiarch Morley. Each speaking from a special acquaintance, they come at you: Karl Brandt ("Economic Conditions"), Arthur Kemp ("The Monetary Basis"), Emory Niles ("Law"), Herrell DeGraff ("The Family"), Ben Moreell ("The Assembly Line"), T. Robert Ingram ("Christianity"), Eliseo Vivas ("The Philosophical Problem"), Richard Weaver ("The Cultural Freedom"), H. W. Luhnow ("Promotion of Freedom"), Robert Cooke ("Limitations"), A. C. Wedemeyer ("The Physical Defense"), and John Davenport ("The Acceptability of Freedom")—amongst whom Weaver, Vivas, and Niles tangled with the deepest questions. Other joys: Authur Kemp advocating return to the gold standard, and John Davenport assailing the "objectivity" of the *New York Times*. An earnest and stimulating joust with the definitional problem.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

The Handbook of Africa, edited by Violaine I. Junod, assisted by Idrian N. Resnick (New York University Press, $10). The proliferation of African "nations," with their gaudy and kaleidoscopic politics, has made life considerably more difficult for all of us who, reading the newspapers, want to keep something of a hold on what is going on in the world. Try though we may, the inner and outer politics—to say nothing of the exact location and physiognomy—of Upper Volta, Mali, or the Malagasy Republic tend to remain elusive. For pinning down these and a hundred other aspects of Africa, *The Handbook of Africa* is the answer. For every political constituent of that continent this book gives, succintly and clearly, its geography, a sketch of its history, a discussion of its politics, population, economy, etc. A thoroughly useful reference work.

F. S. MEYER



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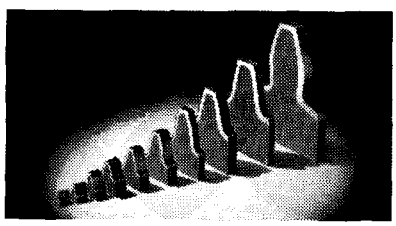

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ATTENTION: MINNESOTA CONSERVATIVES—L. Brent Bozell debating Prof. James Hogg, University of Minnesota Law School. Subject: "United Nations," Wed. October 2nd, Radisson Hotel. Dinner 6:30, Debate 8:00. For further information write Conservative Citizens Committee, P. O. Box 6152, Minneapolis 24, Minnesota or call Mrs. M. J. Pritchard, WA 2-1285.

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To the Editor

Purr

YOU DON'T NEED TO BE MODEST THIS ISSUE OF NATIONAL REVIEW [Sept. 10] DOES "POSITIVELY SHIMMER WITH EXCELLENCE" AS DO MOST ISSUES IT SHIMMERS, GLEAMS, GLOWS, SEETHES, AND ERUPTS WITH EXCELLENCE WHICH IS WHY I POSITIVELY LOVE YOU, NATIONAL REVIEW, YOU EVERY-OTHER-WEEK FEAST FOR THE MIND AND HEART AND CONSCIENCE DON'T EVER DIE BECAUSE I CAN'T LIVE POSITIVELY WITHOUT YOU.

Ft. Worth, Tex. MARIAN GAVIN GREGORY

Eureka!

Soapy was last seen heading the annual Labor Day 4½-mile walk across the Mackinac Bridge.

Detroit, Mich. J. P. O'HARA

Eichmann and the UN

As I was in the process of reading Mr. van den Haag's review of Hannah Arendt's book on Eichmann [Aug. 27], I had the distinct feeling that I was enjoying an accurate, perceptive analysis of her work. The opening paragraphs were well written and to the point. I applaud Mr. van den Haag's treatment of the Musmanno review in the *New York Times*, for I had the same distasteful feeling in reading the Judge's comments. Mr. van den Haag's examination of the questions of *mens rea* and *nullum crimen sine lege* and Miss Arendt's attempts at the justification of Allied and Israeli violation of these norms was more than just interesting, it was scholarly in character. The parallel drawn between Eichmann and the crews of certain U.S. bombers during World War Two is, in essence, valid. However, as I drew close to the end of the review I found myself in the middle of a bit of invective against the UN. I do not wish to debate the veracity of his statements; although, I should say that I hardly view the UN through the lenses of present supranationality. I must and do question the wisdom of Mr. van den Haag in choosing this review in which to air his feelings about the organization. The character of the UN, its behavior in the Congo, and its treatment of the Hungarian and Laotian situations are not related to Eichmann or Miss Arendt's treatment of this ordinary or banal individual and the system which he represented. Apparently, Mr. van den Haag has relied on the issues of the lack of any commonly agreed upon code defining "crimes against humanity" and the fear of the surrender of sovereignty, to build bridges connecting his anti-UN statements to the rest of his review. The issues, while present in the background, are not up to the task. The bridges never were built, and his statements about the UN stand apart from the rest of the review. Such an obvious disjunction as the one I have just outlined impairs the competence of Mr. van den Haag as a reviewer. In the future, it would definitely be to his advantage to confine his field trips to issues which are at least indirectly related to the book with which he is dealing.

Riverdale, N.Y. RICHARD M. LAMPORT JR.

School Prayer

Being an atheist, it is not often that I can agree with you on religious matters. Your stand on Bible-reading and prayers in our public schools, however, has my wholehearted approval.

Naturally enough I am interested in the furtherance of atheism. Having prayers and Bible-reading in the public schools is a large step toward making American religion a spiritually ineffectual social *sine qua non*, repugnant to many who might otherwise misguidedly accept it, but will want nothing to do with a religion with so little self-confidence as to feel the necessity of enlisting the aid of the state in its own propagation.

Your position will help pull the teeth from any sort of meaningful religion and will make the task of recruiting American intellectuals to atheism and the subsequent conversion of the masses immeasurably easier. Thank you.

Urbana, Ill. DAVID L. OSTFELD JR.

Et cum spiritu tuo. —ED.

Civil Writings

There are forces at work in the racial dispute which will destroy any chance which the colored race has, anywhere on earth, to prove its claims to whatever it has been denied. Negroes will be free to strive for their various definitions of happiness so long as order is respected and justice more acceptable as basis for legislation than pity. We might paraphrase Burke:

"If the rude racist tumult, with its cynical appeal to theories of the rights of man to falsify the account and violence as its arbiter is accepted by a misguided people who are prodded on by misguided men, themselves blinded and intoxicated by frantic ambition, we shall all of us perish and be overwhelmed in a common ruin. If so great a storm as the more bombastic of these leaders threaten should come to be it will cast the whales on the strand as well as the periwinkles." Those men in elevated positions would not survive those misguided and yearning people they

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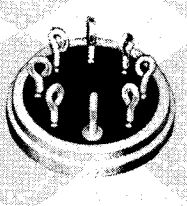

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despise. Once such a holocaust is under way those who invited it and those who were a part of its origins will be destroyed, as will the imperfect but improvable order which is strong enough to discourage armed revolt and wise enough to encourage men to be men, which is their demand, even as they behave as perpetual adolescents.

ROBERT J. NEEDLES, M. D.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Our race problem is not a problem of "color blindness" [June 18]—which is defective vision. It is the inhuman conflict of deficient "rational" animals irrationally commanding political, economic, social and cultural animality in our pluralistically immoral disorder. In this context James Baldwin can rightly excoriate the derivative successors to the Declaration of Independence from gross tyranny and harsh oppression, for degenerating into a nation of liars, frauds, hypocrites and "the tragically naive."
Mineola, N.Y. ANDREAS HOFER

Although Brent Bozell makes several good points in his article on the differences (?) between Salisbury and Cambridge [Aug. 27], I would hate for your readers to think that the biracial committees in Southern cities which achieve "voluntary desegregation" are entirely good things or part of a community's "organic processes."

In North Carolina, for instance, the integration leadership has used them as a vehicle to marshal governmental force for coercion and slander of individual businessmen who refused to go along. They have spent public money to tell the people what they *should* think, instead of promoting, as a public body ought, what the people *do* think.

They inevitably become instruments for demanding more *public* housing, more *public* welfare, more *public* recreation, more *public* education, more *public* regulation, all things which Negroes already have in more than just quantities and all things which conservatives are pledged to oppose.

The Negro leaders I have observed do not demonstrate that they even conceive of a difference between public and private property or that favored and protected status is any more than their due.

.Conservatives should take note that all the current Negro demands,

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at federal and local levels, involve increased statism and coercion of the individual and none promote individual freedom or responsibility, *i.e.*, they have nothing to do with "freedom" and everything to do with security.

The granting of all the current extremist demands would require establishing a "guided democracy" in place of a free republic. That seems to be what they want.

Greensboro, N.C. CLYDE WILSON

At last—proof positive that the New Frontier itself is far more reactionary than the Republican Right: Senator Goldwater is accused by progressives of wishing to "repeal the twentieth century" and to go back to McKinley. But with the Administration's Civil Rights Bill proposals, it's clear that Mr. Kennedy means to go the Senator one better, to skip over McKinley—and go straight back to Reconstruction.

Baltimore, Md. J. D. FUTCH

For those of us who made the pilgrimage to Washington on August 28, it was probably the most memorable event we will ever participate in. The die was cast and we found that all our fears and misgivings were for nothing. The shame left me. The shame I had felt as a soldier walking through the Negro districts of the South or beholding in public places the signs, whites here, colored there. I was proud of my country, for here we were proving that the American dream was not just a dream but was real. Real in the fact that two hundred thousand such diverse people could jam together without a single observable unkind, disrespectful or disorderly act.

Two hundred thousand people have returned home. By now they are back in their usual routine. However, they have committed themselves by this act of going to Washington. It may take a lifetime but it is now a part of our life's work. We won't rest until it is accomplished.

PHILIP E. O'CONNELL

South Weymouth, Mass.

The Supremacy of Warren

Regarding the suggestion that Congress be encouraged to assert its own interpretation of certain constitutional provisions over against the Supreme Court's, *NR* commented [July 16]: "The idea that the *Supreme Court and*

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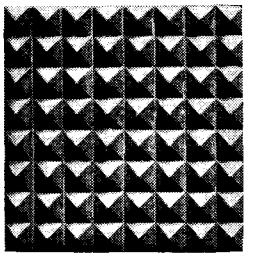

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"This illusion has choked initiative and destroyed self-pride. The teen-ager is no longer driven to higher goals but merely waits for things to be handed to him. The teen-ager no longer feels embarrassment when taking something for nothing, but accepts it as the natural course of events. Although most teen-agers feel everything should be handed to them on a 'silver platter,' they soon learn that is not the case . . .
"This may come as a rude shock to today's teen-agers but the world owes you nothing . . . Teen-agers owe all their efforts to the world in which they live."

Wall Street Journal, July 9, 1963
(from an editorial by Dick Gnegy in an Oakland, Md. High School Paper)

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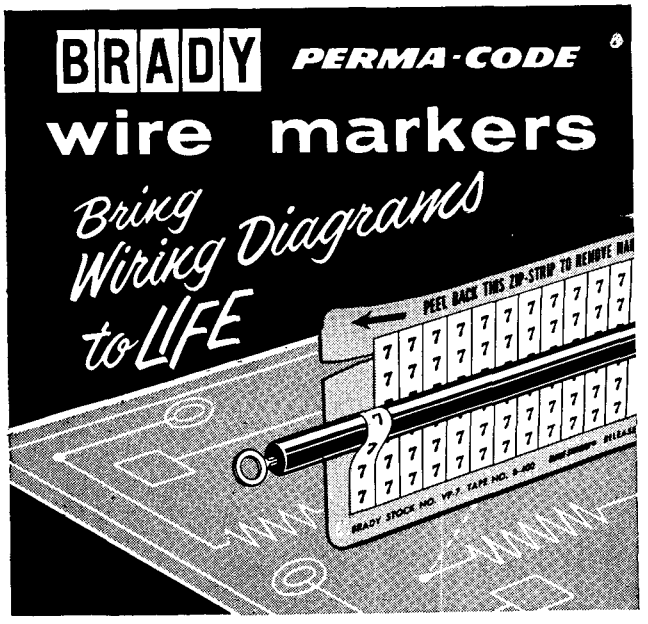

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only the Supreme Court knows what the Constitution says is so thoroughly ingrained in the average American" that the proposal is unfeasible. (My italics.) Tut, tut. I'll join *NR* in sponsoring a little poll on just that formulation, with the understanding the wrong-guesser picks up the tab. But let's forgive a rhetorical indiscretion and assume that in substance *NR* is right: it has been *NR*'s habit, where wrong and hurtful ideas have become "thoroughly ingrained," to try to rip them out—not adopt them as operational assumptions for policy recommendations.

Chevy Chase, Md. L. BRENT BOZELL

Empiricism

Re: "The Week," p. 136, NR, August 27. Please amend as follows:—and the High Commissioner of Education of the State of Empire thenceforth exhorted his people to create in its place a new fourth verse and proclaim it loudly throughout the land:

"Our High Court's god to thee,
Name of John Kennedy,
To thee we sing,
Call forth eternal night
And blow out Freedom's light,
Protect us from thy blight,
Tin god, our king!"

Lebanon, N.J. THEODORE H. HODGES

Mens Sana

Russell Kirk's analysis of "The Mind of Barry Goldwater" [Aug. 27] is probably the greatest single contribution yet made toward an understanding of the man whom millions of Americans have chosen to be their candidate for President of the United States.

Phoenix, Ariz. BERNIECE N. BATTERTON

Keelaroma

Brogan's article on "The Profumo Affair" [July 2] brought to mind a sentence from the song *Torna a Surriento,* namely, *"Un profumo non v'ha equale."* Only, the perfume is not that shed by orange blossoms but by a bushy-tailed mammal about the size of a cat.

Norwood, Pa. PETER MASUCCI

The Good Old Days

Re: "Italian Democracy" [Aug. 27].

Oh Futch,
Double Dutch,
And two times at the Forum,
So Rome without the fasces
Is lacking all decorum?

West Haven, Conn. M. G.

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The REA Controversy

REA Power Deals Called Unfair Drain on Taxpayers
9 Millions Loaned to Co-op by REA
Good Intentions Going Wrong
REA Should Be Curbed
REA Is Ready to Wear 'Long Pants'
It Has Forgotten Its Purpose

You might not even know what the REA is, or that it's controversial. But a controversy exists, and it involves you as a taxpayer, as a customer of an investor-owned electric light and power company (perhaps as a shareholder, too), or as a member of a rural electric cooperative.

To begin with, REA stands for the Rural Electrification Administration, a bureau of the Federal Government in Washington. It was established in 1936 to make loans to local agencies who would help get electricity to rural America. The local agencies were called rural electric cooperatives (now sometimes "rural electric systems"). These systems borrow money from the Federal Government at 2% interest. As cooperatives, they pay no Federal income tax.

Because investor-owned electric companies and rural electric co-ops worked as good neighbors, electricity now flows in plentiful supply throughout our nation's farmlands. Yet the REA recently asked the treasury for more loan appropriations than ever before ($425 million in the last budget, compared with only $175 million back in 1952).

Many people—magazine and newspaper writers and editors, congressmen, senators, business leaders, farm leaders—have asked for an explanation of the REA's ever-growing budget. General maintenance and the "heavying up" of existing lines account for part of the huge expenditure. But the heaviest portion is requested for building generating plants and high-voltage lines.

Considering this, thoughtful people are asking whether the REA in Washington is encouraging some rural electric co-ops to build power plants and transmission lines where they are not needed. Many people are wondering whether the REA is loaning money to some co-ops to help build a Federal power system not authorized by Congress.

Many other questions have been asked about REA loans: Are they being used by REA in Washington to urge local rural electric co-ops to expand into urban and industrial service, in contradiction to the purpose for which they were established? Is it proper for the REA to lend public funds while keeping the basis for the loan a secret? Is the REA in Washington injuring its once-honored image, and also the honored images of the local rural electric cooperatives?

Naturally, we in the electric light and power companies also ask these questions. But our voice is only one among many. Perhaps your voice should join in, too, for the question of how you want your tax dollars to be used has great bearing on this nationwide controversy.

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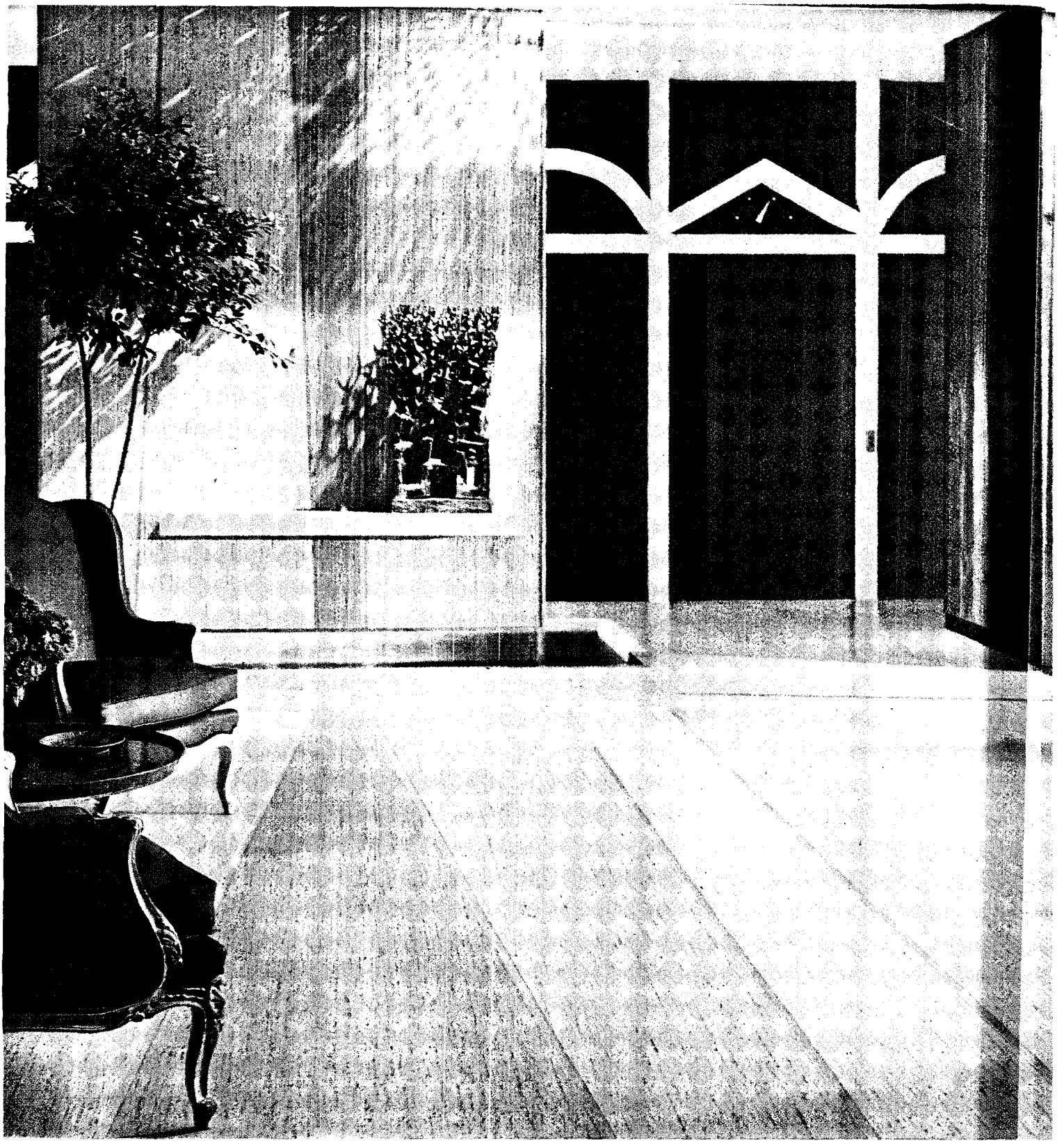

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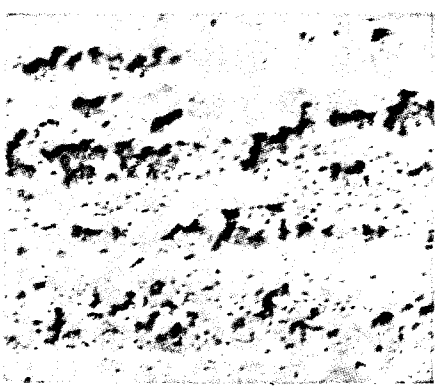

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